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PROCEEDINGS IN CUBA.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Havana, May 1st, 1841.

SIR—Since my last of the 8th ult. many things have come to light, which tend to prove how well founded is the belief entertained by the friends of freedom, that no effective measures are likely to be adopted in this place for the suppression of the slave-trade.

It is currently asserted, that private orders have been issued for the destruction of all public barracones, and every other public establishment that may tend to attract attention; accompanied at the same time with a secret mandate to protect and promote the interests of the slave-trade in the most effectual manner, it being a traffic necessary to the agricultural and commercial welfare of the country. The fact is, that the barracones are being pulled down; but that vessels continue to be fitted out as usual for the coast of Africa, and that slavers arrive every week with fresh victims, without there being any precautionary measures adopted by this government to prevent it.

It is very evident that the Captain-general of this island is resolved on following the track of his predecessors, and that all the fair promises, refusal of the perquisite, &c., said to have originated with him, have proved to be a mere *ruse de guerre*, to put at fault the vigilance of those who are watching his proceedings. The consequence is that he is now assailed from all sides with memorials. The slave-dealers solicit his willing protection of their nefarious trade, and the friends of philanthropy, whilst appealing to him on behalf of humanity and violated treaties, demand but justice.

The enclosed translation of a memorial presented the other day, by one of the first and most wealthy men of the country—the possessor of a fortune of two millions of dollars, and the holder of 800 slaves—will tend to prove the facts I have stated. The Conde de Santo Venia (to whose honour be it said that he is the memorialist) has taken a widely different and more extensive view of the subject, than the authors of the memorial, a translated copy of which I had the pleasure to hand you in my last, and which is still in course of signature. I was mistaken in having stated that it had already been presented. Some unavoidable delay prevented its being got ready at an earlier period, and now many who would then most willingly have signed it fear to do so, in consequence of the public conviction that the Captain-general is resolved on protecting the slave-trade, of which there cannot be the shadow of a shade of doubt.

The unfortunate emancipados continue to be sold as hitherto; the only variation consists in the price, which now is, by order of his Excellency, six ounces of gold for a male, and four ounces for a female, for a term of five years.

It affords me the greatest pleasure to be able to inform you that abolitionist principles begin to take root in this city, and at Matanzas. The present moment is fraught with the greatest hope of results favourable to humanity, and freedom; and, if properly improved, must eventually lead on to success, in spite of the opposition we have to encounter from the deleterious influence of the slave-trade. I submit, therefore, without the fear of contradiction, that every servant of her Majesty appointed to hold a commission in this island should be an abolitionist. This is also the opinion, and the particular wish, of all the abolitionists of this city, who, although few in number, are influential in means. It is, perhaps, incredible, the good that such men could do. Their example would give vigour to the new birth of abolition principles throughout the country. Their energy and activity, pro-

ceeding from principle, would seek and find daily and hourly means of arresting the frightful progress of the slave-trade in this place. Such men are wanted in the court of mixed commission in this city.

If your great Convention of 1840 had accomplished no other practical good, but that of compelling the whole corps of English functionaries in this stronghold of the African trade to abandon the practice of slave-holding, its meeting could not be said to have been useless, or unprofitable to the great cause of African freedom. It is to the readiness with which Lord Palmerston adopted the views of the Convention, enclosing their memorial and resolutions in a circular letter addressed to all the officers in his department, and enjoining them for the future to regard the principles of that memorial as the rule of their conduct, that the clearing out of this Augean stable is to be ascribed. It is true that his lordship, in so far at least as this island is concerned, did not content himself with the mere subscription of his illustrious name to a circular despatch. In the new consul he appointed to carry his views into effect, he gave the friends of abolition a guarantee that his despatch was not intended to remain a dead letter.

Within a week after Mr. Turnbull's arrival at his post, one of her Majesty's commissioners, Mr. Dalrymple, made a public announcement of his intention to abandon the practice of slave-holding, by printing an advertisement, which appeared for several days successively in all the newspapers of Havana, both in English and Spanish, offering high wages to such free persons, whether white or of colour, as might be willing to enter his establishment. The commissary judge, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Jackson, the clerk of the mixed court, have not been so prompt in their obedience to the orders of their government. If there be any truth in the voice of public rumour, an official correspondence has been going on for several months on this subject between these gentlemen and her Majesty's consul, whose zeal on the subject is already well known to you. I have reason to believe that Mr. Kennedy has at length yielded a reluctant obedience to the strict letter of the despatch, not without remonstrances against the tyranny and injustice of any interference with his domestic arrangements. Pancho, the slave whom he gave up a few days ago, had been two years in England, had acquired there a knowledge of his rights—and had his misery, therefore, materially aggravated by being brought back to Cuba, and reduced a second time to slavery. Mr. Jackson (the immediate protege it is said of this Mr. Kennedy) has not yet abandoned the practice, clinging with the grasp of a tiger to what he calls his property, to this very hour. Nay, it is announced that one of those emancipados of whom you have heard so much, and who (strange to say) have been assigned to him by the Spanish authorities, with the concurrence of the English commissioners, is to accompany his master to England, during the leave of absence he has obtained. But I sincerely hope and confidently trust, that the friends of African freedom will take care to have this unfortunate young man instructed in the nature of his rights, so as to protect him against the danger of being brought back to his house of bondage, as was Pancho, the slave of the commissary judge.

May 13.—The Captain-General has issued a circular to the subaltern authorities, prohibiting the introduction of negroes into the island, and ordering that all vessels now fitting out, shall be stopped, if they are suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade. All this looks wonderfully well on paper, but there is every reason for believing that, as usual, it will remain a dead letter. The Spanish brig Bolador was stopped the other day. Since then she has changed the Spanish for the Portuguese flag, and she proceeded to sea yesterday morning. She carries a long gun on a pivot, and four smaller guns.

The Portuguese brig Trueno arrived in this port on the very day, or the day after, the Captain-general's circular was issued, after having landed 450 Africans at a place a short distance from the Havana, called La Chorrera. The captain of the port, immediately on her arrival, reported to the Captain-general that this vessel was suspected of having landed Africans on the coast; but behind the suspicion there yawns a chasm called insincerity, which swallows up all the proofs, as appears by the fact of nothing having been proved. A long experience of 24 years has taught the most credulous to place no confidence whatever on the good faith of the authorities of this island.

A few days ago a dealer in earthenware found, in a crate of English crockery which he had lately purchased from a merchant in this city, several plates representing negroes dancing round the flag of liberty; he immediately carried them to the Captain-general, in order to avoid the possibility of his being implicated,

or suspected of participation in the deed. The excitement caused hereby has been so great, that it is believed the custom house will cause every crate of English earthenware which may exist in the place, or may arrive hereafter, to be opened and examined. This circumstance will serve to prove, that the men who are perpetually talking of the sacred character of their right of property in their fellow-beings, are fully aware of the utter insecurity of the basis on which they have erected their right.

I have just been informed, on the most undoubted authority, that the captain of the brig Bolador has taken with him to the coast of Africa a very handsome young American woman (who was seen on board at the time of his sailing, and previously thereto by many persons resident in this city), whom he intends to offer, instead of money, in exchange for slaves. It is said that the same thing has been done before by others, and that from 50 to 500 Africans are readily given for a white woman, whose worth is determined by her youth and beauty. In behalf of humanity, I would be happy if I could conscientiously declare that I doubt the truth of this assertion, but so great is the degree of depravity to which the habitual committal of crime has reduced the slave-trader, that I believe deeds equally revolting to human nature are of frequent occurrence with them. In the case of the young woman on board the Bolador, the only thing doubtful is, whether this poor creature, thus condemned to a life of infamy and slavery, was a consenting party to her own misery.

The following article, taken from a Caracas paper, the *Gazeta de Venezuela*, of Sunday, the 10th of January, 1841, will help to confirm the fact.

"TRAFFIC IN WHITE SLAVES.—The depravity of slave-traders is every day causing greater horrors. It is now two years since they have been committing a new sort of crime. They seduce young women at New York, to whom they hold out the most brilliant prospects in order to induce them to embark for Havana, when they are taken to the coast of Africa, and there sold to the chief who will give the greatest number of slaves for them. One alone has been known to sell for a full cargo."

I hand you enclosed two memorials, which have been forwarded to the provisional regency of Spain; the one from the tribunal of commerce, the other from the municipal corporation, both of this city. Their arguments, sophistical as they are, will serve to show that the prevailing spirit of the majority is in favour of the suppression of the slave-trade, in order to secure the continuance of slavery throughout the island. Humanity is evidently not one of the motives which have actuated these people to address the mother country on this subject.

C. R. F.

May 20.—I have merely time to add, that the Portuguese brig Aguila, with about five hundred Africans on board, has been wrecked at a place on the coast of this island called Cabanas; that thirty of the negroes have been drowned, and that the remainder arrived in this city last night, having been seized by the authorities of Cabanas by order of the Captain-general. The fact was too glaring to admit of anything else being done. I presume that, as soon as condemnation has taken place by the mixed court, the victims will be handed over to her Majesty's superintendent of liberated Africans.

MEMORIAL OF THE TRIBUNAL OF COMMERCE.

THE tribunal of commerce of the ever most faithful city of Havana, at the moment when a voice of terror is spreading rapidly throughout this capital, and over the whole country, the alarm that, in the approaching session of the Cortes, legislative measures will be proposed, the tendency of which will be to produce the emancipation of the slaves of this island, cannot do less than raise their voice also to the provisional Regency of the kingdom, in testimony of their fidelity and adherence, and of the love they bear to the well being and prosperity of the monarchy; disclosing the dangers and misfortunes to which objects so dear will be exposed, should questions of this delicate nature be agitated in the bosom of the national representation, or should the dignity, intelligence, and wisdom of the supreme government omit to oppose an insurmountable barrier to the suggestions of an ill understood philanthropy, the object of which can only be to promote the aggrandizement of a powerful nation, at the expense of our own ruin.

This tribunal is perfectly aware, that the present memorial extends to objects beyond the natural sphere of its duties; and that the occasion which has given rise to the alarm, and the sinister rumours which are now in circulation, might be regarded as futile and unworthy of notice, since they may be referred exclusively to an article addressed by Don Ramon de la Sagra to the journal called *El Correspondiente*, on the 21st of December last. But the subject of which it treats is so grave and so delicate, and of such vital interest to every inhabitant of this country, that a whisper of it cannot be heard without alarming the minds of men least liable to terror, and producing ideas which lead to extravagance and absurdity.

Thus it is seen, that an article in an insignificant journal, which, on any other subject, from the smallness of the importance to be attached to an individual opinion, would have been of no importance, has been sufficient, when it touches on this particular, to put men's minds in a state of effervescence and excitement which it is difficult to conceive among a population so little conversant with questions of a political nature, as to have paid a very

slight and momentary attention to the serious and important changes which have taken place of late years in the system of the government of the nation. But, seeing themselves threatened, not only in their property but their very existence, they are no longer in a situation to discuss their opinions, but must prepare to defend themselves at any cost from the dangers with which they are assailed.

An imprudent speech delivered in the extraordinary constituent cortes of 1811, which did not refer to the abolition of slavery, but to the suppression of the slave-trade, so alarmed the authorities and corporations of the island, as appears from the official communications of the period, that the fears which were then manifested had the appearance of being exaggerated; and yet a few months had scarcely elapsed, when a horrible conspiracy was discovered, which, if it had once been installed, would have produced a general conflagration of property, and the universal massacre of the white population. This conspiracy was fortunately discovered at the very moment when its objects were about to be carried into execution, and a portion of the convicts who had projected the ruin of the island met their fate on the scaffold. Their chiefs were not slaves, who had been beaten, oppressed, and mal-treated by their masters; but free negroes, who had enjoyed the advantage of education, and had conceived some notions of honour and religion.

At that period the sect of abolitionists in England, and even the Quakers, the Methodists, and other religious denominations, who consider it a duty to belong to that sect, had not yet established their societies, which now, by means of their agents and their money, are endeavouring to undermine all those countries where slavery exists; and, without regard to means, are incessantly employed in promoting the object of their hypocritical and fanatical zeal. But now, when in every Englishman who lands on these shores we may see a spy, and an apostle of this doctrine in disguise; now that these missionaries introduce themselves at the court, as into our cabins, some by public and some by fraudulent means; now that they enjoy the decided protection of their government, identifying their private objects with the promotion of their public designs; now it is not a fact, nor a word, nor a mere idea which might be overlooked, but the decided object of liberating the negro race which proceeds from England, and which unites with it the purpose of ruining the productiveness of this island.

In this place, and with this view, it will not be improper to refer to the recent case of an Englishman, Mr. Turnbull, who, having come with the character of a mere traveller, introduced himself into our society and into the interior of our houses; and, as the result of his observations, published a book full of inaccuracies and concealments, the chief object of which was to accuse her majesty's government, its agents in this island, and the inhabitants in general, of the infringement of the treaty for the suppression of the slave trade; in which work he had the audacity to suggest the proposal to her majesty of the extension of the powers of the mixed commission, to the point of raising it to the rank of an ordinary tribunal of the country. As a reward for this publication he has obtained the appointment of consul-general of his nation, and superintendent of liberated Africans in the court of mixed commission; it being notorious that his ideas, widely published among the people, have already produced the circulation of opinions among the negroes, which in their ignorance they have adopted, in the seductive hope of obtaining their liberty, which may very well give occasion to a general revolution, if the government does not speedily apply the necessary remedy. And is it not to be feared that the other fanatics, of a lower station in society, and imbued with more cunning, but equally decided, at the risk of martyrdom, to accomplish their objects in the promotion of a cause which they conceive to be identified with that of christianity, will not be disposed to labour in silence in spreading insurrectionary ideas among our slave population, when, in the event of their crime remaining undiscovered, they are sure of meeting with decided protection from their own government, and with lenity from ours? That the British government should be desirous of promoting the prosperity of its own commerce at the expense of ours, and should endeavour to enforce the abolition of slavery in rival sugar colonies, is a consideration which must be obvious to the most superficial observer; and that this consideration is identical with the interests of the British East India Company, and may become the motive for a deviation from the path of justice, and from the rule of international right, is at least very greatly to be feared, when we consider that the smallest political commotion may interrupt the production of sixteen millions of arrobas of sugar now manufactured in this island, a large proportion of which would be called for from the British possessions in the east. And it cannot be doubtful to the most careless observer, that the doctrines thus diffused by the English missionaries, and by the imprudent discussion of such subjects in any form by our own cortes, cannot be interpreted otherwise by our negroes than in a sense more extensive and more dangerous than that which is really intended.

The love of liberty is naturally the dominant passion of the slave, not from the influence of reflection and comparative reasoning on his physical or moral well-being, but from an instinct which is common to man, and to the ever animals; and which is indulged the more vehemently in proportion to its distance from sound reason (as may be observed in the wild beast); and as the first use which they make of their strength, when the chains

which confined them are loosened, is in the destruction of those by whom they were broken, so the slave, who does not understand the true use of rational liberty, and is equally unable to comprehend the genuine meaning of the word in the state of society in which he has lived, is instantaneously driven to its abuse; for the truth of which we have the mournful and authentic testimony of the unfortunate island of St. Domingo.

Religion, philosophy, social improvement, necessity, or force, are the only moral or physical means by which man can be restrained within the limits of his duty, and by which his passions can be repressed. Law has no other basis. But would the last of these means of repression be sufficient of itself to dam back the ferocious passions which would suddenly seize on half a million of barbarians, entirely destitute of christian or moral education, and accustomed in their natural state to recognize no other difference between one man and another than that of owner and slave, of master and servant, of oppressor and oppressed? Force! But force would not be sufficient, because it infers a struggle with beings, of whom it has been said by a celebrated philosophical historian, "that, wretched all their lives, they are heroes only for a moment." And even when the victory was gained, it would be precarious or useless, because the mere resort to force would leave behind it consequences sufficient to initiate and ensure our complete destruction.

Will it be said that men who have just acquired their freedom will keep in view and follow the example of those who have long been acquainted with its peaceful enjoyment? But this is the very worst of the evils with which we are threatened. The influence of our free people of colour will undoubtedly operate on the minds of those who are newly emancipated, which will be the inevitable consequence, first of the equality or analogy of castes among themselves; and, secondly, of the superior intelligence of those who have long been free. Hence it will follow, as took place in St. Domingo, that those who are newly liberated will form the mass, and those who have long enjoyed their freedom will become the soul of a disastrous revolution, which will not be long in declaring itself.

But it must not be forgotten, that when the emancipation of our slaves is in question, it is not merely a social relation which is to be changed, nor a law which is to be abrogated by which one man was subjected to another man, and thereby the sole distinction between them destroyed; but the change must go the whole length of placing the negro and the white man on a footing of legal equality, and of uniting in ties of social intercourse two races who carry, imprinted on their countenances, the indelible stamp of separation, as strongly marked in physical as in moral qualities; insomuch as, when both are free, they are rarely united, even under the influence of vice and immorality. Hence it follows, that the one must command, while the other must obey; this necessity not being capable of being destroyed, even by those suggestions of religion and humanity which are now in every mouth, but which would be very distant from the hearts of our modern philanthropists, if they were only placed and required to act in our situation.

In the bosoms of our free people of colour there exists—there must exist or they would not be men—a concentrated hatred of the whites, if there were no other cause for it but that state of isolation in which they have been placed, that aversion with which they have been treated, and that semi-legal disparity which exists *de facto* between them and the free whites—an odium more deeply rooted than that which is caused by the system of oppression exercised in some countries by certain privileged classes over others who are compelled to endure it, because, when once destroyed, the distinction is still maintained by the diversity of origin marked by nature on the countenance, and is, therefore, as permanent as the colour by which they are separated.

And what guarantee of tranquillity presents itself between that portion of the race already free, and those who are now in a state of slavery? The regency will allow a Spanish traveller who has resided among us, who has visited the United States and some part of Europe, and whose attention has been especially called to the state of philanthropic institutions, and to all that has a tendency to improve the public morals, to answer in our name, because for this reason, still more than for his scientific attainments, he has acquired celebrity in Spain. We allude to Don Ramon de la Sagra, who, in his work entitled *Five months in the United States*, expresses himself on the subject of emancipation of the slaves in the following terms:—

"The number of people of colour in the prisons of this country has compelled me to reflect on the misfortunes of this race, precipitated and overwhelmed in vice and crime by want of a good education. I have read a great number of publications, the authors of which are of opinion, that, for the slave, the supreme good is the attainment of freedom. I believe, on the contrary, that liberty is the most baneful of gifts which can be bestowed on the unhappy African who has received no education; a thousand times worse than the possession of unlimited wealth by an uninformed and licentious young man spending his time amidst the dissipation of a great city, more fatal than all the incentives of seduction to the innocent damsels who wanders into the flowery path of pleasure. The slave is a machine, brutalized in his condition, deprived of all moral enjoyment, and limited in what is physical to a scanty ration of food; his rest interrupted, and the very possession of his wife incomplete. Such a state of existence is undoubtedly miserable, and its amelioration is a fit object for

the attention of the philanthropist; but the custom is to deem the slave as the child of misfortune and misery, thrown amidst a crowded circle by whom he is unknown, and placed in contact with all sorts of seductions, which infallibly lead to the brink of the precipice. As long as we are unable to cement and confirm the freedom of the negro race by means of a moral, religious, and intellectual education, it is better not to think of his emancipation at all. But is it just, the philanthropist will ask, to leave them in their misery? And would it be human to make them criminals? I reply. Between education and perpetual slavery there is no alternative.

"In the island of Cuba, where I have resided for twelve years, and in the United States, which I have traversed with admiration, I have observed that the free people of colour are the most corrupt and demoralized class of society, and that their vices are only to be compared with their ignorance and irreligion. But are not the one the immediate consequence of the other? And, by diminishing the one, would not a remedy be provided for the other?" Surrounded by these considerations, the author continues. "I see the approach of a period most critical to the country in which I have so long resided, and which has hitherto been so fortunate. The doctrine of negro emancipation is spreading over Europe, and finds an echo in the national congress of Spain. A few men of ardent passions find the means of securing a cheap popularity, by repeating what has been said by so many; and others, under the influence of an impartial love of their kind, and a sincere compassion for the misfortunes of an unhappy race, unite their eloquent voices to the unreflecting clamour of the former. The triumph will be secure, because it is the triumph of the doctrines of the age. But look well to the consequences! A decree of emancipation without the preliminaries of religious and intellectual instruction, will be a decree of calamity, which will open before these unfortunate beings, whose lot it is intended to ameliorate, an unfathomable abyss of crime and misfortune. Under this persuasion, then, those who have the temerity or the courage to sign such a decree, and are fearless of the consequences, would do well to prepare for them the construction of extensive prisons, and the erection of the scaffold."

In quoting this passage, so full of truth, it is impossible, while reflecting on the last of its expressions, to avoid a sentiment of terror, on comparing it with the purport of the article which has given occasion to the preparation of this memorial, since it serves to demonstrate the foresight of the author in question, when he announced that, "men of ardent passions, and of ambitious or hypocritical pretensions, would seek the means of purchasing a cheap popularity by the agitation of the question in Spain."

But nothing so fully corroborates the reasonableness of the fear of applying a remedy in this particular inopportune, imprudently, or prematurely, as the opinion of Dr. Channing of Boston, one of the most ardent abolitionists of the United States, professing the most christian hatred of slavery and of slave-holders, believing most firmly in the useful results of emancipation, and least fearful of its consequences, depreciating the importance of the question as it regards the right of property, and sacrificing everything to the restoration of the right of the negro as a free man. This writer, the apostle of the abolition of slavery, to whose cause he has consecrated his eloquent pen, in his last work entitled *Emancipation*, in which also he proposes to demonstrate to his countrymen the advantages obtained in some of the English colonies in consequence of the experiment made by that nation, suggesting to the states of the north, where slavery does not exist, the adoption of certain legislative measures indirectly tending to promote emancipation in the south, expresses himself in the following terms.

"I do not desire that emancipation should take place in the south by force. Were I in possession of political power, I would fear to use it in this affair. A forced emancipation in the British West Indies is (generally speaking) making favourable progress, because the mother country has been watching over it, guarding it, and shedding moral and religious influences abundantly around it, to tranquillize, enlighten, and mollify the minds of those who have newly acquired their freedom. Here such means are not at our disposal; freedom in the south, if it is to lead to good, ought to originate in the south. It ought to be the effect of benevolence, and of a conviction of its justice; or, at least, of its tendency to promote their own interest, and not that it is torn from them by a foreign power. With such an origin, the experiment would have a better issue than in the West Indies. In these islands, and especially in Jamaica, the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the proprietors continually obstructed the beneficent work of emancipation, and still throws a doubt over the completeness of the result."

From other apostles of the so called philanthropy, belonging to the French sect, the following words have escaped—"Without speaking of the ruin of the proprietors, which would be the immediate consequence of emancipation, it must be confessed that it would be very dangerous to place the negro in a situation for which he is not prepared." And, after pointing out as a positive evil that indolence, to the temptation of which the negro is unable to offer any effectual resistance in climates where, without labour, he can amply provide for his limited necessities," he thus concludes:—"Those who have just issued from a state of slavery cannot fail for a long time to preserve the views and defects of their origin. In consequence of a state of idleness, or of labour which is voluntary and indolent, they would speedily fall into a

state of degradation more baneful than that from which justice and humanity had thought to rescue them."

The tribunal has ventured to engage the attention of the regency of the kingdom with the quotation of these opinions, because they proceed from men who have the reputation of being eminently liberal and philanthropic, because none of them are slave-holders, nor inhabitants of this island, and because, under such circumstances, they could not in any way be actuated by views of self interest, nor be prejudiced in favour of slavery, which they gratuitously suppose in all those who have anything to lose in the country.

All are of opinion, that, without the preliminary of a moral and religious education, and without the cordial concurrence and co-operation of the present proprietors, as the result of their conviction or benevolence, in the work of emancipation, freedom would in fact be an evil to those who had newly obtained it; or, at least, would not produce the beneficent results expected from it. And it may even be observed, that, if emancipation in the United States, under a legal sanction, would be attended with danger, much more would it be dangerous in the island of Cuba, if we refer only to two considerations, leaving a multitude of others aside. The one is, that, in the United States the proportion of negros, as compared with whites, is as sixteen to eighty-four; whereas in this island they are as fifty-five to forty-five. The second is, that in the United States the population is concentrated and united, and the means of communication are so rapid and abundant that resources of every kind might be collected almost instantaneously from every part of the union; but, in the island of Cuba, the population is scattered over a surface proportionally vast, which, in the event of an insurrection, would make mutual assistance difficult from the want of guides who could be safely depended on; insomuch that the negros would easily find an asylum among the various and impenetrable groups of mountains, where, even in ordinary times, the fugitive negros make their haunts, and sometimes live there for ten or twelve years.

It may be said by some, that the fears of an immediate insurrection by the blacks against the whites are exaggerated. But it is certain that, if those who thus argue could form an idea of the matter in all its intensity, the sketch we have given of it would appear too lightly coloured; from which the future condition of the population may be inferred, living for ever in a state of alarm and uneasiness, and compelled to guard themselves from the attack of an unseen but inevitable and terrible hand. The first consequence will be the alienation of the capitalists, and the emigration of the inhabitants, with as much as they can carry away with them, to go and live elsewhere with more tranquillity. The second will be the abandonment of the manufacture of sugar, which forms almost exclusively that mass of wealth by which the commerce of the island is sustained, and by which all classes of the inhabitants are supported. The third and last, without analyzing or even suggesting those of a derivative character, will be the great reduction in the numbers of the white population, and the relative increase of the power of the blacks.

We have intentionally omitted to mention the greatest of the dangers to which the island of Cuba would be exposed on the approach of the hurricane, because it cannot have escaped the penetrating perspicuity of the regency. The tribunal alludes to the policy of the government of the United States of America, which, although at the head of the freest nation of the universe, maintains the condition of slavery in several of its states, and concedes to the authority of the master a protection as powerful, as it is diametrically opposed to the fundamental basis of the constitution. And is it possible that a government which maintains such an absurd contrariety of principles, for no reason but the fear of emancipating more than two millions of slaves, should be able to look with indifference at a similar change in its neighbourhood in the island of Cuba, without finding a motive, or at least a pretext, for putting in practice in Cuba the same maxims which have guided its conduct in Texas? And this policy would meet in the island of Cuba, subverted and demoralized as it would be by misery and terror, with none of that resistance which would undoubtedly be opposed to it by Cuba in a state of opulence. The tribunal trembles to reflect on the dreadful shock to which the undoubted fidelity of the inhabitants of Cuba will be exposed, that is, of the small number of whites who remain in the country. The tribunal is not without the fear that the event may really take place, on the accession of her Majesty's government to the perfidious instigations of hypocritical fanatics, who blind the careless with the mask of philanthropy, under the protection of a government which finds in it the means of promoting certain important interests; but we cannot see the approach of that direful epoch announced by La Sagra without alarm, when ambitious men are about to agitate the cortes with dangerous questions, the mere mention of which will be sufficient to paralyse, in a great degree, the prosperous march of our agriculture and our commerce, and will be capable of producing that emigration which is to be the first and the immediate consequence already announced.

This tribunal does not consider itself destitute of the principles of liberality, humanity, and philanthropy. On the contrary, it is on these principles that it rests its application for the maintenance on this subject of the *status quo* in the island of Cuba; because it would not be humane, or just, or equitable, to sacrifice 400,000 whites, for an object which would only render 500,000 persons of colour more miserable, instead of improving their condition. It

was not the present inhabitants of the country who created the condition of domestic slavery. This fatal gift they received from their ancestors; and, it having been conceded to them by law, with all its fatal consequences, including the inherent ignorance and brutality of the slaves and the demoralization of the free people of colour, they find themselves in the dreadful dilemma of either maintaining their authority, or submitting to extermination; while for those in subjection the dilemma is not less odious, of becoming criminals or remaining slaves.

Cut away at once and for ever all that remains of the contraband traffic in negroes, which may still be carried on in fraud of the treaty for its abolition, and in defiance of the laws of the country; and this may be done by the Spanish government without any foreign intervention whatever, respecting at the same time, from the most powerful considerations of policy, such facts in this matter as have already been consummated. Let our beneficent legislation on this subject be carried into effect, in virtue of which every honest and industrious slave-enjoys the means of making himself free, and of becoming a useful and laborious member of society. Let the light of religion be more generally propagated by respectable clergymen, as was proposed to the government by this tribunal, in the name of the Royal Junta de Tormento, in a memorial on the subject of rural policy, dated the 20th of December, 1827; and let the work proceed slowly under the safe influence of time, that useful and salutary work, which the thoughtless and fanatical only could ever think of accomplishing by violent or unseasonable means.

The provisional regency, in its wisdom and patriotism, will condescend, the tribunal hopes, to take this memorial into its enlightened consideration; and will determine on what is fittest to be done to attach this bright jewel more firmly to the crown of Castile, one of the most precious by which it is adorned, which is all that the Tribunal of Commerce aspires to in this humble representation.

God grant you many years.

(Signed)

JORGE P. DE URTELEGUI,
NICOLAS GALCERAN,
ALEJANDRO MORALES.

Havana, 30th March, 1841.

MEMORIAL OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF HAVANA.

THE municipal corporation of the ever most faithful city of the Havana addresses to the provisional regency of the kingdom the complaints of the island of Cuba, on a question in which its very existence is involved. However unworthy, still the only semblance of representation which these faithful inhabitants enjoy, the municipality proposes, with all the warmth which justice inspires, and with all the confidence which the wisdom of a just government authorizes, to demonstrate the impossibility of resolving on the emancipation of the slaves of this island without compassing its destruction, in return for its untainted loyalty, and its great and constant sacrifices in favour of the mother country. But they would also appeal to the justice and the policy which an ill understood philanthropy, not so well supported by positive data as by an unworthy jealousy, advances in support of emancipation.

It is painful to observe, that the circumstances which have served as a pretext for denying to the provinces of America the right of representation and other social guarantees, are not taken into account when the emancipation of the slaves is in question; but it is much more painful to find, that the sufferings of one class of the population are exaggerated, in order to promote the disastrous and sanguinary ruin of the other. Those who have discussed the question of domestic slavery in America, have left out of their consideration the fact that the difference of castes is involved in it—a difference which inspires the most serious alarm with regard to an important portion of the population, which, without being of slave condition, desires the extermination of the white race. If the increasing number of slaves were placed in more immediate contact with the free people of colour, and if the difficulties which are raised by the subordination and isolation of the slaves were thrown down, so as to prepare the way for commotions, the experience of Cuba, like that of St. Domingo, would speedily confirm the prediction, that in these islands the negro race is to exterminate the whites, and that the whites are to prevail over the blacks on the continent. It is to be wanting in all knowledge of the human heart, to suppose that no desire exists for the destruction of the white population, and to believe that this desire, when stimulated by the complaints, not of the slaves, but of their gratuitous defenders, will not produce disasters and revolutions. But those who exaggerate the sufferings of slavery ought to consider that its evils are not so great as those which lead to the extermination of the white class; and that this island will be lost to civilization and to trade, if a degraded and ignorant class is to preside over its destinies.

It is not the desire to perpetuate slavery, it is not the wretched love of wealth which must perish with the slaves which compose it, on which the opposition to emancipation is founded. The preservation of the existence of the white class is that which can and ought to prevent it, and the inhabitants of the island of Cuba, who are not to blame because their government permits and protects the abominable traffic in slaves, have a better right to demand the preservation of their lives, than the slave race have to ask for their liberty. This liberty may be just in the abstract, but the preservation of the white race is not less so; nor ought

the local circumstances to be forgotten which make emancipation impossible. The freedom of the minor and the madman is just in the abstract, but other reasons interfere with its enjoyment; and those who, affecting philanthropic sentiments, would declaim against the authority of the father and the curator, would not be more unreasonable than those who claim an emancipation for which the slaves are not prepared. It is in vain that preparations for the transition are proposed. The interests of the owners of slaves will not permit the alarm of preliminary concessions, nor could they be granted without producing commotions. The only remedy which reason or philanthropy can suggest, is to soften the sufferings of the slave, in order to prepare him by slow degrees for the enjoyment of his freedom; and it is honourable to the legislation of the country and the manners of the people, that the regulations regarding slavery, and especially the royal cedula, of the 31st of May, 1789, and the humane treatment of the masters, make the declamations of those who are interested in promoting emancipation appear chimerical, and even ridiculous.

The labouring classes of Europe are undoubtedly in a more unfortunate condition than the slaves of this island. The slave, who is maintained and supported by his master in sickness and old age, has a more cheerful prospect before him than the labourer who lives by his daily toil; who, even without the supposition of sickness or old age, would die of hunger, if improvements in machinery or an increase of parsimony should exclude him from the workshop. The sufferings of the slave in the island of Cuba are less than those of the soldier or the sailor; and, if for this it cannot be said that the manufacturers and capitalists should be doomed to destruction, as little can it be said to be just or convenient that the white race of the island of Cuba should be exterminated. Our slaves are not in a situation so miserable as those of foreign colonies, where the master holds the power of life and death, where the slave has not the right to complain of his master, and where for him there is no human justice.

There are few testamentary settlements in this island which do not contain a provision for the manumission of certain slaves, as a reward for their services; there are few well conducted slaves who do not so increase their savings as to enable them to purchase their freedom, under the protection of the syndicos and the procuradores generales. There are few excesses committed by the masters which are not repressed, to the advantage of the slaves themselves; they are admitted to the right of coartacion, which limits the price of their redemption, and their savings are carefully protected. But, if further alleviations are sought for in the condition of the slave, if additional guarantees against abuse are demanded, their attainment presents no great difficulty; since they would be perfectly in harmony with the protecting spirit of our laws, and with the humane habits and the natural dispositions of the owners—but not a general emancipation, which could only lead to disaster and ruin. The slaves would thus be gradually promoted to the condition of freemen; and, if we reflect that a just proportion between the sexes is not now to be found, and that among those of mixed blood the whites have the ascendancy, who shall say that within a few years the difference of castes may not cease to excite alarm, and that domestic slavery may not cease to exist? This supposes the entire suppression of the execrable traffic with Africa. The inhabitants of the island of Cuba are the most deeply interested in seeing that the number of the people of colour is not imprudently augmented. The laws of the country and a solemn treaty with England have already prohibited the slave-trade; and, although it may be believed that the sole object of the pretended philanthropy of a civilized nation is the aggrandizement of the possessions of that nation in India, nay, although it may be believed that the destruction of the colonies of France and Spain, Portugal and Holland, is intended to promote the prosperity of English colonies in Asia, it is not the inhabitants of the island of Cuba who defend a traffic in every sense to be reprobated. If the faith of treaties has been disregarded, if the trade in men has been permitted, it is but just that such abominable excesses be repressed, as every other illegality should be repressed. But those who have committed these excesses are not in the island of Cuba; and it is not just that the native inhabitants should pay with their lives, and the loss or conflagration of their property, for the delinquencies of others, on the erroneous pretext that our dependency on the mother country is to be maintained by the increase of the negro population. That dependency will be perpetual if the elements of order are preserved, which, happily, now exist in the inviolability of our property; it will be perpetual, while the enlightened government of Spain shall extend to this country her protecting arm. If its inhabitants have known how to resist the example, and even the suggestions, offered them from other parts of America, and if they have been willing to shed their blood and lavish their money, not only in Europe but in the neighbouring provinces of America, for the suppression of those who were formerly their brothers, they need not be afraid of the doubts which are thrown on their inviolable loyalty, unless in the impossible—because the unjust—event of their being compelled to yield to the imperious law of their own preservation. Abolish, then, the African trade, but let not its odious and clandestine continuance be allowed to produce the total ruin of the island of Cuba.

But to what good is emancipation to lead? What use will the slaves make of their freedom! Plunged in a state of ignorance from which the acquisition of liberty will not release them; destitute of capital and knowledge, and without any stimulant to

induce them to acquire and accumulate, their indolence and sloth will make them miserable in proportion to their numbers, and they will not be able to preserve their existence without the perpetration of crimes, without impiously and barbarously avenging the previous loss of their liberty, and without making their own existence incompatible with that of their present masters.

Political economy may be able to demonstrate that those countries are more productive in which labour is free than those where domestic slavery prevails; but, when we bring into comparison, not the power of the production of people distinct from each other in their laws and customs, but the labour of a slave as compared with that of a freeman, both living on the same spot; when we consider that the labour of the journeyman is not much less forced than that of the slave; when we observe that the consumption and the cost of living of the slave is less than that of the freeman, it will not be possible to establish the superior utility of the labour which is forced by means of misery and pauperism to that which is exacted by means of a gentle form of slavery. If the introduction of slaves into a place where they did not previously exist were in question, the doctrine of the superior productiveness of free labour might be held to be applicable. But this is not the state of the question. The existence of slavery is a fact; and if this fact exercises a great influence in the depreciation of labour, in the deterioration of manners, and in arresting the progress of the knowledge and skill of the artizan, the greater expense of the operative and the mechanist, who, accustomed to higher enjoyments, will exact a higher compensation, becomes evident and unquestionable.

The emancipation of the slaves infers the removal of a great number of hands from the cultivation of the soil; and, without taking into consideration the loss of their value, which ought always to be indemnified, without considering the damage occasioned by every change in the application of capital, the loss which must arise from the want of the means of cultivation must be incalculable. That loss could not be supplied until after the lapse of many years by emigration from Europe, because the emigration of whites cannot take place with the same facility with that of negroes; and the greater cost of the produce of white labour would exclude the fruits of this island from a fair competition in the markets of the world. The melancholy condition of Jamaica is more convincing than all our economical theories, and demonstrates how sad the prospects of the island of Cuba would be, even if its white inhabitants were not exterminated.

And what would then be the advantages which the Spanish nation would derive by retaining this island in her dependence? By what means could we contrive to send four millions of dollars to the mother country, after supplying our own necessities? Where would be the benefit of introducing into this island the productions of the peninsula, when they could be no longer exchanged for other productions? How could the interests of industry or trade be promoted? All the nations of the earth, with one exception, are interested in the preservation of this island, and in the prosperity of its commerce and its industry; and the Spanish government can never decree the imprudent emancipation of our slaves without committing suicide, and without the loss of its own dignity and independence. Spain has no need to receive lessons in philanthropy from other nations. The colonies of Great Britain have always been in a worse condition than the provinces of Spain, to which the very name of colony was offensive, and the acknowledgment of foreign influence in questions of positive right would be as injurious as it is disgraceful.

The circumspection required in the consideration of a question of such vital importance to this island, the necessity of local knowledge in order to arrive at a right conclusion, and the right of those to be heard who are so deeply interested in the issue by means of legitimate representatives, may possibly prevent the enactment of a sudden measure of emancipation: but the municipal council of Havana would be wanting in its duties, if it did not represent that the mere discussion of the question is as injurious as its inconsiderate decision could be; if they did not make it known with frankness and fidelity, that the slightest notice of the subject will endanger the political existence of the island; and finally, if they did not declare that the inevitable result of its discussion will be a bloody revolution. The government will acknowledge the accuracy of these observations; and, if the island of Cuba is to perish, if the ruin and extermination of its inhabitants is to be the reward of their sacrifices and their fidelity, at least it shall not be said that the evil might have been avoided, nor that it has been hastened by the cowardly silence of this municipality.

MEMORIAL OF THE CONDE DE SANTO VENIA.

Most excellent Sir, Governor and Captain-general,—

The Conde de Santo Venia, grand cross of the royal and distinguished order of Charles III., submits to your Excellency, that, being deeply interested in the maintenance of the tranquillity which this valuable island so happily enjoys under the influence of the officers so discreetly chosen by the mother country for its government and prosperity, he has constantly foreseen and apprehended a crisis, which, while it disturbed the uncertain foundations of our property, might even shake the superstructure which we fortunately possess, and cause the whole of that prosperity to disappear, which has been acquired at the expense of so much anxiety on the part of the government,

and of so much forbearance on the part of the judicious portion of the population.

Since the period when the humanity of the age had begun to display itself at the expense of private interest, and much more since the time when a solemn treaty was concluded (in 1817 between our nation and Great Britain), in concert with the other sovereigns of Europe assembled at the Congress of Vienna, with regard to the abolition of the slave-trade, the island of Cuba ought to have opened her eyes, and contemplated her situation and her prospects; not neglecting, day or night, to seek for the means of liberating herself without hazard, and of securing her existence on solid and indestructible foundations. But the evil was deeply rooted. The disastrous prejudices of some, the ill understood interest of many, and the supposed remoteness of the danger, excited hopes that it might be evaded, although without any rational foundation; thus closing men's eyes to the danger, and their ears to the voice of reason, as well as to their true interests, public and private.

I shall not enter, most excellent sir, on a description of the abuses to which this political and economical error has given rise. They are so notorious that I shall not lose time with their specification. I shall content myself with stating to your Excellency, with the frankness required from a Spaniard and a gentleman in addressing an enlightened chief in whose able hands the supreme government has placed the destinies of Cuba, that I consider the tempest already over our heads, and that it must be quelled, unless we mean to sit down and be buried amidst its ravages. The alarm is general, which is an evident proof of the danger; and even those who resist the most rational reforms with the greatest obstinacy are compelled to yield to the necessity of the case: but, in seeking a remedy, they are afraid to take the initiative, and it is for this reason that I venture to break silence, persuaded as I am that your Excellency has been appointed by Providence to be the saviour of the island, and that you will listen to my reasons, free from prejudice as I am from fear in addressing myself to an old and illustrious general, whose valour has given so many glorious days to his country.

Without opposing ourselves to the ideas of the age to such a degree as to reduce ourselves to the rank of barbarians in the eyes of the whole world without the infraction of a solemn international treaty; without provoking a collision with the contracting power; without involving the nation in a serious moral and pecuniary responsibility, and provoking the energies of those numerous and influential societies which, in England, in North America, and in France, have arrogated to themselves the mission of abolishing slavery in favour of one race, although another should perish by it; and without seeing the conflagration of our beautiful fields with indifference, or consenting to perish ourselves under the ruins of our nascent cities; we must not remain any longer in a state of reprehensible inaction, but must set our hands to the work, and make it known to the whole civilized world that we also know what is due to humanity—that, if we are obliged to maintain an institution which degrades us, and which injures our interests in public and private life, it is the fault of the time in which it took its origin, and of the difficulty and danger of uprooting an evil which counts its age by centuries; and that, although it be true that we resist with all our might a violent mode of suppression which destroys us, we know how to find resources within ourselves to escape from the danger, without the aid of foreign intervention, conducted in a manner which is equally unbecoming as applied to us, and to the illustrious mother country to which we belong.

But, even setting aside the immediate political circumstances by which we are surrounded, the greater part of this community are persuaded that we should greatly gain in safety, in civilization, and in our pecuniary interests, by the substitution of free labour for that of slaves; and every thing appears to be prepared for this reform. To your Excellency it belongs to place the first stone of the solid edifice of our future and perpetual tranquillity. At your Excellency's call every tongue will reply, and, gathering round you as a centre of salvation, we shall unite our strength in order to justify your confidence.

The formation of new colonies where slave-labour is absolutely prohibited—the introduction of labourers from Spain and the Canary islands, and even from foreign countries, if required, on the firm and just basis of benefit alike to the proprietor and the labourer—administrative arrangements which shall for ever put an end to the contraband introduction of Africans—the adoption of measures by which funds might be raised for the transportation to colonies in Africa of such free persons of colour as might desire to go there, or of such as by their conduct have shown themselves unworthy of remaining in this island; such I believe are the principal objects for your Excellency's solicitude during the happy period of your administration, before the evil becomes so overgrown as to make the remedy more difficult.

These simple indications I submit to your Excellency's superior judgment, exclusively animated by the love of that country in which exists all that I possess, and by the earnest desire to see it for ever united to the mother country, forming an integral part of the Spanish monarchy, and of that noble nation ~~which has~~ always distinguished itself by the stamp of catholicism, and by the honour and good faith with which its compacts have been fulfilled.

With these views, I beseech your Excellency to receive this respectful representation with favour; weighing it in your wisdom, and taking such a resolution on the subject of which it

treats as may be the fittest to be adopted. Such are the hopes inspired by the prudence, capacity, and judgment, which distinguish your Excellency's character.

God grant your Excellency many years.

EL CONDE DE SANTO VENIA.

Havana, April, 1841.

MR. STURGE'S ADDRESS TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

I WAS commissioned by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to present a memorial from them to your President, and proceeded to Washington a few days ago, accompanied by John G. Whittier of Massachusetts, and a friend from the state of Delaware.

It was my first visit to the seat of legislation of your great republic. On our arrival we went to the house of representatives, then in session. A member from Maryland was speaking on our entrance, who was the author of a resolution which had been carried in a former congress, excluding nearly three millions of your countrymen, on whom every species of wrong and outrage is committed with impunity, from all right of petition, either by themselves or their friends. He was advocating the re-enactment of this very resolution for the present congress, and stated that he had a letter from your President approving the measure. Although I believe I do not speak too strongly when I say, that an attempt to enforce such a resolution by any crowned head in the civilized world would be inevitably followed by a revolution, yet it seemed evident that no small portion of your present members were in favour of it. It was with no ordinary emotion that I saw the venerable ex-president Adams at his post, nobly contending against the violation of the rights of his countrymen; and I could not but regret that, with one or two exceptions, he appeared to find little support from his younger colleagues of the free states.

The same day we visited one of the well known slave-trading establishments at Alexandria. On passing to it we were shewn the costly mansion of its late proprietor, who has recently retired on a large property acquired by the sale of native-born Americans. In an open enclosure, with high walls which it is impossible to scale, with a strong iron barred door, and in which we were told that there were some times from three to four hundred persons crowded, we saw about fifty slaves. Amongst the number thus incarcerated was a woman with nine children, who had been cruelly separated from their husband and father, and would probably be shortly sent to New Orleans, where they would never be likely to see him again; and where the mother may be for ever severed from every one of her children, and each of them sold to a different master. From thence we went to the Alexandria city gaol, where we saw a young man who was admitted to be free, even by the gaoler himself. He had been seized and committed in the hope that he might prove a slave, and that the party detaining him would receive a reward. He had been kept there nearly twelve months because he could not pay the gaol fees, and, instead of obtaining any redress for false imprisonment, he was about to be sold into slavery for a term, to reimburse these fees.

The next morning I was desirous of handing to the president the memorial, of which the following is a copy:—

ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SIR.—As the head of a great confederacy of states justly valuing their free constitution and political organization, and tenacious of their rights and their character, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through their esteemed coadjutor and representative, Joseph Sturge, would respectfully approach you, in behalf of millions of their fellow-men held in bondage in the United States. Those millions are not only denied the political immunities enjoyed by the citizens of your great republic generally, and the equal privileges and the impartial protection of the civil law, but they are deprived of their personal rights: so that they cease to be regarded and treated, under your otherwise noble institutions, as MEN (except in the commission of crime, when the utmost rigour of your penal statutes is invoked and enforced against them), and are reduced to the degraded condition of "chattels-personal" in "the hands of their owners and possessors, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."

This is the language and the law of slavery; and upon this law, guarded with jealousy by their political institutions, the slave-holders of the south rest their claim to property in man. But, sir, there are claims anterior to all human laws and superior to all political institutions; claims which are immutable in their nature—claims which are the birthright of every human being, of every clime and of every colour—claims which God has conferred, and which man cannot destroy without sacrilege, or infringe without sin. Personal liberty is amongst these the greatest and the best, for it is the root of all other rights, the conservative principle of human associations, the spring of public virtues, and essential to national strength and greatness.

The monstrous and wicked assumption of power by man over his fellow-man which slavery implies, is alike abhorrent to the moral sense of mankind, to the immutable principles of justice, to the righteous laws of God, and to the benevolent principles of the gospel. It is, therefore, indignantly repudiated by the fundamental laws of all truly enlightened and civilized communities; and by none more emphatically than by that over which, sir, it is your honour to preside.

The great doctrine that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is affirmed in your Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the theory of your constitutional laws. But there is a stain upon your glory. Slavery, in its most abject and revolting form, pollutes your soil; the wailings of slaves mingle with your songs of liberty, and the clank of their chains is heard in horrid discord with the chorus of your triumphs.

The records of your states are not less distinguished by their wise provisions for securing the order and maintaining the institutions of your country, than by their ingenious devices for rivetting the chains and perpetuating the degradation of your coloured brethren. Their education is branded as a crime against the state; their freedom is dreaded as a blasting pestilence; the bare suggestion of their emancipation is proscribed as treason to the cause of American independence.

These things are uttered in sorrow; for the committee deeply deplore the flagrant inconsistency so glaringly displayed, between the lofty principles embodied in the great charter of your liberties, and the evil practices which have been permitted to grow up under it, to mar its beauty and impair its strength.

But it is not on these grounds alone, or chiefly, that they deplore the existence of slavery in the United States. Manifold as are the evils which flow from it, dehumanizing as are its tendencies, fearful as its re-action confessedly is on its supporters, the reproach of its existence does not terminate in the institution which gave it birth. The sublime principles and benign spirit of christianity are dishonoured by it. In the light of divine truth it stands revealed in all its hideous deformity, a CRIME AGAINST GOD, a daring usurpation of the prerogative and authority of the Most High. It is as a violation of his righteous laws, an outrage on his glorious attributes, and a renunciation of the claims of his blessed gospel, that they especially deplore the continuance and support it receives among you; and, in the spirit of christian love and fraternal solicitude, they would counsel its immediate and complete overthrow as a solemn and imperative duty, the performance of which no sordid reasons should be permitted to retard, and no political considerations to prevent. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought therefore to be abolished.

The utter extinction of slavery, and its sister abomination the internal slave-trade—second only in horror and extent in the United States to the African, and in some of its features even more revolting—can be argued by the philanthropists of this country only on the abstract principles of moral and religious duty; and to those principles the people of your great republic are pledged on the side of freedom, beyond every nation of the world.

The negro, by nature our equal, made, like ourselves, in the image of his Creator, gifted with the same intelligence, impelled by the same passions, and redeemed by the same Saviour, is reduced by cupidity and oppression below the level of the brute, spoiled of his humanity, plundered of his rights, and often hurried to a premature grave, the miserable victim of avarice and heedless tyranny! Men have presumptuously dared to wrest from their fellows the most precious of their rights—to intercept, as far as they may, the bounty and grace of the Almighty—to close the door to their intellectual progress—to shut every avenue to their moral and religious improvement—to stand between them and their Maker! It is against this crime the committee protest, as men and as christians; and they earnestly and respectfully call upon you, sir, to use the high powers with which you are invested to bring it to a peaceful and speedy close.

May you, in closing your public career, and in the latest hours of your existence on earth, be consoled with the reflection that you have not despised the afflictions of the afflicted; but that, faithful to the trusts of your high stewardship, you have been "just, ruling in the fear of God"—that you have executed judgment for the oppressed, and have aided in the deliverance of your country from its greatest crime, and its chief reproach!

Signed on behalf of the committee,
London, March 8th, 1841. THOMAS CLARKSON.

I thought it more candid to address a letter to the president, informing him of the character of the foregoing memorial, than to take advantage of a merely formal introduction to present it without such an explanation. To this letter no reply was received, nor was there the slightest allusion made to it by the president at a subsequent introduction which we had to him. It may be proper to state in this connexion, that memorials of a similar character, bearing upon the slave-trade and slavery, signed by the venerable Clarkson, have been presented to different heads of governments in other parts of the world, and have been uniformly received with respect.

Previously to our departure we visited a private slave-trading establishment in the city, and looked upon a group of human beings herded together like cattle for the market, within an enclosure of high brick walls surrounding the gaol. The young man in attendance informed us that there were five or six other regular slave dealers in the city, who, having no gaols of their own, either placed their slaves in this establishment, or in the public CITY PRISON. The former was generally preferred, on account of its superior accommodation in respect to food and lodging. On my making some remarks to the young man on the nature of his occupation, he significantly, and I think very justly, replied, that he knew of no reason for condemning slave-traders which did not equally apply to slave-holders. You will bear in

mind that this was said within view of the capitol, where slave-holders control your national legislation, and within a few minutes walk of that mansion where a slave-holder sits in the presidential chair, placed there by your votes; and it is certainly no marvel, that, with such high examples in his favour, the humble slave-dealer of this district should feel himself in honourable company, and really regard his occupation as one of respectability and public utility.

From thence we proceeded to the city prison, an old and loathsome building, where we examined two ranges of small stone cells, in which were a large number of coloured prisoners. We noticed five or six in a single cell, barely large enough for a solitary tenant, under a heat as intense as that of the tropics. The keeper stated, that, in rainy seasons, the prison was uncomfortably wet. The place had to us a painful interest, from the fact that here Doctor Crandall, a citizen of the free states, was confined until his health was completely broken down, and was finally released only to find a grave, for the crime of having circulated a pamphlet on emancipation, written by one of the friends who accompanied me. On inquiry of the keeper, he informed us that slaves are admitted into his cells, and kept for their owners, at the rate of 34 cents per day, and that transfers of them from one master to another sometimes took place during their confinement; thus corroborating the testimony of the keeper of the private gaol before mentioned, that this city prison, the property of the people of the United States, and for the re-building of which a large sum of your money has been appropriated, is made use of by the dealers in human beings as a place of deposit and market. Thus you, in common with your fellow citizens, are made indirect participants in a traffic equal in atrocity to that foreign trade, the suppression of which, to use the words of your president in his late message, "is required by the public honour and the promptings of humanity."

As one who has devoted much of his humble labours to the cause you wish to promote, perhaps I shall be excused for thus stating these facts to you, as they all passed before my personal observation in the course of a few hours. I shall deem it right to publish them in Europe, where I am about shortly to return. Recollect, they all occurred and exist within the district of Columbia, and that those who elect the legislators who uphold the slave system are justly responsible for it in the sight of God and man. Is it not all the natural consequence of your electing slave-holders and their abettors to the highest offices of your state and nation? Some of your most intelligent citizens have given it as their opinion, that fully two-thirds of the whole population of the United States are in favour of the abolition of slavery; and my own observation since I landed on these shores, not only confirms this opinion, but has convinced me that there is a very rapid accession to their numbers daily taking place; and yet we have the extraordinary fact exhibited to the world, that about 250,000 slave-holders, a large proportion of whom, bankrupt in fortune and reputation, have involved many of the north in their disgrace and ruin, hold in mental bondage the whole population of this great republic, who permit themselves to be involved in the common disgrace of presenting a spectacle of national inconsistency altogether without a parallel. I confess that, although an admirer of many of the institutions of your country, and deeply lamenting the evils of my own government, I find it difficult to reply to those who are opposed to any extension of the political rights of Englishmen, when they point to America, and say, that, where all have a control over the legislation but those who are guilty of a dark skin, slavery and the slave-trade not only remain unmitigated, but continue to extend; and that, while there is an onward movement in favour of its extinction, not only in England and France, but even in Cuba and Brazil, American legislators cling to this enormous evil, without attempting to relax or mitigate its horrors. Allow me, therefore, to appeal to you by every motive which attaches you to your country, seriously to consider how far you are accountable for this state of things, by the want of a faithful discharge of those duties for which every member of a republican government is so deeply responsible; and may I not express the hope that, on all future occasions, you will take care to promote the election of none as your representatives, who will not practically act upon the principle, that, in every clime, and of every colour, "all men are equal!" Your sincere friend,

Philadelphia, 6th mo. 7th, 1841. JOSEPH STURGE.

THE LATE SIR JOHN JEREMIE.
(From the Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary.)
Council Chamber, Sierra Leone, 23rd April, 1841.
The members of Her Majesty's Council have the melancholy duty of announcing to the civil and military officers, and to the inhabitants of the colony at large, the afflicting intelligence of the decease of his Excellency, Sir John Jeremie, Kt., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, who expired at half-past ten o'clock this morning.

In making this painful communication, the council feel their inability to do justice to the high character and valuable services of the late lamented Governor, whose unwearied exertions for the welfare and benefit of all classes of the inhabitants of this colony were not less zealous than unremitting, and whose death cannot fail, therefore, to be considered as a public calamity, and as such deeply deplored.

L. HOOK, A. C. J.	W. COLE, M. C.
J. CARR, Q. A. M. C.	W. FERGUSON, M. C.
N. W. MACDONALD, C. S., M. C.	

and of so much forbearance on the part of the judicious portion of the population.

Since the period when the humanity of the age had begun to display itself at the expense of private interest, and much more since the time when a solemn treaty was concluded (in 1817 between our nation and Great Britain), in concert with the other sovereigns of Europe assembled at the Congress of Vienna, with regard to the abolition of the slave-trade, the island of Cuba ought to have opened her eyes, and contemplated her situation and her prospects; not neglecting, day or night, to seek for the means of liberating herself without hazard, and of securing her existence on solid and indestructible foundations. But the evil was deeply rooted. The disastrous prejudices of some, the ill understood interest of many, and the supposed remoteness of the danger, excited hopes that it might be evaded, although without any rational foundation; thus closing men's eyes to the danger, and their ears to the voice of reason, as well as to their true interests, public and private.

I shall not enter, most excellent sir, on a description of the abuses to which this political and economical error has given rise. They are so notorious that I shall not lose time with their specification. I shall content myself with stating to your Excellency, with the frankness required from a Spaniard and a gentleman in addressing an enlightened chief in whose able hands the supreme government has placed the destinies of Cuba, that I consider the tempest already over our heads, and that it must be quelled, unless we mean to sit down and be buried amidst its ravages. The alarm is general, which is an evident proof of the danger; and even those who resist the most rational reforms with the greatest obstinacy are compelled to yield to the necessity of the case: but, in seeking a remedy, they are afraid to take the initiative, and it is for this reason that I venture to break silence, persuaded as I am that your Excellency has been appointed by Providence to be the saviour of the island, and that you will listen to my reasons, free from prejudice as I am from fear in addressing myself to an old and illustrious general, whose valour has given so many glorious days to his country.

Without opposing ourselves to the ideas of the age to such a degree as to reduce ourselves to the rank of barbarians in the eyes of the whole world without the infraction of a solemn international treaty; without provoking a collision with the contracting power; without involving the nation in a serious moral and pecuniary responsibility, and provoking the energies of those numerous and influential societies which, in England, in North America, and in France, have arrogated to themselves the mission of abolishing slavery in favour of one race, although another should perish by it; and without seeing the conflagration of our beautiful fields with indifference, or consenting to perish ourselves under the ruins of our nascent cities; we must not remain any longer in a state of reprehensible inaction, but must set our hands to the work, and make it known to the whole civilized world that we also know what is due to humanity—that, if we are obliged to maintain an institution which degrades us, and which injures our interests in public and private life, it is the fault of the time in which it took its origin, and of the difficulty and danger of uprooting an evil which counts its age by centuries; and that, although it be true that we resist with all our might a violent mode of suppression which destroys us, we know how to find resources within ourselves to escape from the danger, without the aid of foreign intervention, conducted in a manner which is equally unbecoming as applied to us, and to the illustrious mother country to which we belong.

But, even setting aside the immediate political circumstances by which we are surrounded, the greater part of this community are persuaded that we should greatly gain in safety, in civilization, and in our pecuniary interests, by the substitution of free labour for that of slaves; and every thing appears to be prepared for this reform. To your Excellency it belongs to place the first stone of the solid edifice of our future and perpetual tranquillity. At your Excellency's call every tongue will reply, and, gathering round you as a centre of salvation, we shall unite our strength in order to justify your confidence.

The formation of new colonies where slave-labour is absolutely prohibited—the introduction of labourers from Spain and the Canary islands, and even from foreign countries, if required, on the firm and just basis of benefit alike to the proprietor and the labourer—administrative arrangements which shall for ever put an end to the contraband introduction of Africans—the adoption of measures by which funds might be raised for the transportation to colonies in Africa of such free persons of colour as might desire to go there, or of such as by their conduct have shown themselves unworthy of remaining in this island; such I believe are the principal objects for your Excellency's solicitude during the happy period of your administration, before the evil becomes so overgrown as to make the remedy more difficult.

These simple indications I submit to your Excellency's superior judgment, exclusively animated by the love of that country in which exists all that I possess, and by the earnest desire to see it for ever united to the mother country, forming an integral part of the Spanish monarchy, and of that noble nation which has always distinguished itself by the stamp of catholicism, and by the honour and good faith with which its compacts have been fulfilled.

With these views, I beseech your Excellency to receive this respectful representation with favour; weighing it in your wisdom, and taking such a resolution on the subject of which it

treats as may be the fittest to be adopted. Such are the hopes inspired by the prudence, capacity, and judgment, which distinguish your Excellency's character.

God grant your Excellency many years.

EL CONDE DE SANTO VENIA.

Havana, April, 1841.

MR. STURGE'S ADDRESS TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

I WAS commissioned by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to present a memorial from them to your President, and proceeded to Washington a few days ago, accompanied by John G. Whittier of Massachusetts, and a friend from the state of Delaware.

It was my first visit to the seat of legislation of your great republic. On our arrival we went to the house of representatives, then in session. A member from Maryland was speaking on our entrance, who was the author of a resolution which had been carried in a former congress, excluding nearly three millions of your countrymen, on whom every species of wrong and outrage is committed with impunity, from all right of petition, either by themselves or their friends. He was advocating the re-enactment of this very resolution for the present congress, and stated that he had a letter from your President approving the measure. Although I believe I do not speak too strongly when I say, that an attempt to enforce such a resolution by any crowned head in the civilized world would be inevitably followed by a revolution, yet it seemed evident that no small portion of your present members were in favour of it. It was with no ordinary emotion that I saw the venerable ex-president Adams at his post, nobly contending against the violation of the rights of his countrymen; and I could not but regret that, with one or two exceptions, he appeared to find little support from his younger colleagues of the free states.

The same day we visited one of the well known slave-trading establishments at Alexandria. On passing to it we were shewn the costly mansion of its late proprietor, who has recently retired on a large property acquired by the sale of native-born Americans. In an open enclosure, with high walls which it is impossible to scale, with a strong iron barred door, and in which we were told that there were some times from three to four hundred persons crowded, we saw about fifty slaves. Amongst the number thus incarcerated was a woman with nine children, who had been cruelly separated from their husband and father, and would probably be shortly sent to New Orleans, where they would never be likely to see him again; and where the mother may be for ever severed from every one of her children, and each of them sold to a different master. From thence we went to the Alexandria city gaol, where we saw a young man who was admitted to be free, even by the gaoler himself. He had been seized and committed in the hope that he might prove a slave, and that the party detaining him would receive a reward. He had been kept there nearly twelve months because he could not pay the gaol fees, and, instead of obtaining any redress for false imprisonment, he was about to be sold into slavery for a term, to reimburse these fees.

The next morning I was desirous of handing to the president the memorial, of which the following is a copy:—

ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SIR.—As the head of a great confederacy of states justly valuing their free constitution and political organization, and tenacious of their rights and their character, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through their esteemed coadjutor and representative, Joseph Sturge, would respectfully approach you, in behalf of millions of their fellow-men held in bondage in the United States. Those millions are not only denied the political immunities enjoyed by the citizens of your great republic generally, and the equal privileges and the impartial protection of the civil law, but they are deprived of their personal rights: so that they cease to be regarded and treated, under your otherwise noble institutions, as MEN (except in the commission of crime, when the utmost rigour of your penal statutes is invoked and enforced against them), and are reduced to the degraded condition of "chattels-personal" in "the hands of their owners and possessors, to *all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.*"

This is the language and the law of slavery; and upon this law, guarded with jealousy by their political institutions, the slave-holders of the south rest their claim to property in man. But, sir, there are claims anterior to all human laws and superior to all political institutions; claims which are immutable in their nature—claims which are the birthright of every human being, of every clime and of every colour—claims which God has conferred, and which man cannot destroy without sacrilege, or infringe without sin. Personal liberty is amongst these the greatest and the best, for it is the root of all other rights, the conservative principle of human associations, the spring of public virtues, and essential to national strength and greatness.

The monstrous and wicked assumption of power by man over his fellow-man which slavery implies, is alike abhorrent to the moral sense of mankind, to the immutable principles of justice, to the righteous laws of God, and to the benevolent principles of the gospel. It is, therefore, indignantly repudiated by the fundamental laws of all truly enlightened and civilized communities; and by none more emphatically than by that over which, sir, it is your honour to preside.

The great doctrine that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is affirmed in your Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the theory of your constitutional laws. But there is a stain upon your glory. Slavery, in its most abject and revolting form, pollutes your soil; the wailings of slaves mingle with your songs of liberty, and the clank of their chains is heard in horrid discord with the chorus of your triumphs.

The records of your states are not less distinguished by their wise provisions for securing the order and maintaining the institutions of your country, than by their ingenious devices for rivetting the chains and perpetuating the degradation of your coloured brethren. Their education is branded as a crime against the state; their freedom is dreaded as a blasting pestilence; the bare suggestion of their emancipation is proscribed as treason to the cause of American independence.

These things are uttered in sorrow; for the committee deeply deplore the flagrant inconsistency so glaringly displayed, between the lofty principles embodied in the great charter of your liberties, and the evil practices which have been permitted to grow up under it, to mar its beauty and impair its strength.

But it is not on these grounds alone, or chiefly, that they deplore the existence of slavery in the United States. Manifold as are the evils which flow from it, dehumanizing as are its tendencies, fearful as its re-action confessedly is on its supporters, the reproach of its existence does not terminate in the institution which gave it birth. The sublime principles and benign spirit of christianity are dishonoured by it. In the light of divine truth it stands revealed in all its hideous deformity, a CRIME AGAINST GOD, a daring usurpation of the prerogative and authority of the Most High. It is as a violation of his righteous laws, an outrage on his glorious attributes, and a renunciation of the claims of his blessed gospel, that they especially deplore the continuance and support it receives among you; and, in the spirit of christian love and fraternal solicitude, they would counsel its immediate and complete overthrow as a solemn and imperative duty, the performance of which no sordid reasons should be permitted to retard, and no political considerations to prevent. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought therefore to be abolished.

The utter extinction of slavery, and its sister abomination the internal slave-trade—second only in horror and extent in the United States to the African, and in some of its features even more revolting—can be argued by the philanthropists of this country only on the abstract principles of moral and religious duty; and to those principles the people of your great republic are pledged on the side of freedom, beyond every nation of the world.

The negro, by nature our equal, made, like ourselves, in the image of his Creator, gifted with the same intelligence, impelled by the same passions, and redeemed by the same Saviour, is reduced by cupidity and oppression below the level of the brute, spoiled of his humanity, plundered of his rights, and often hurried to a premature grave, the miserable victim of avarice and heedless tyranny! Men have presumptuously dared to wrest from their fellows the most precious of their rights—to intercept, as far as they may, the bounty and grace of the Almighty—to close the door to their intellectual progress—to shut every avenue to their moral and religious improvement—to stand between them and their Maker! It is against this crime the committee protest, as men and as christians; and they earnestly and respectfully call upon you, sir, to use the high powers with which you are invested to bring it to a peaceful and speedy close.

May you, in closing your public career, and in the latest hours of your existence on earth, be consoled with the reflection that you have not despised the afflictions of the afflicted; but that, faithful to the trusts of your high stewardship, you have been "just, ruling in the fear of God"—that you have executed judgment for the oppressed, and have aided in the deliverance of your country from its greatest crime, and its chief reproach!

Signed on behalf of the committee,
London, March 8th, 1841. THOMAS CLARKSON.

I thought it more candid to address a letter to the president, informing him of the character of the foregoing memorial, than to take advantage of a merely formal introduction to present it without such an explanation. To this letter no reply was received, nor was there the slightest allusion made to it by the president at a subsequent introduction which we had to him. It may be proper to state in this connexion, that memorials of a similar character, bearing upon the slave-trade and slavery, signed by the venerable Clarkson, have been presented to different heads of governments in other parts of the world, and have been uniformly received with respect.

Previously to our departure we visited a private slave-trading establishment in the city, and looked in upon a group of human beings herded together like cattle for the market, within an enclosure of high brick walls surrounding the gaol. The young man in attendance informed us that there were five or six other regular slave dealers in the city, who, having no gaols of their own, either placed their slaves in this establishment, or in the public CITY PRISON. The former was generally preferred, on account of its superior accommodation in respect to food and lodging. On my making some remarks to the young man on the nature of his occupation, he significantly, and I think very justly, replied, that he knew of no reason for condemning slave-traders which did not equally apply to slave-holders. You will bear in

mind that this was said within view of the capitol, where slave-holders control your national legislation, and within a few minutes walk of that mansion where a slave-holder sits in the presidential chair, placed there by your votes; and it is certainly no marvel, that, with such high examples in his favour, the humble slave-dealer of this district should feel himself in honourable company, and really regard his occupation as one of respectability and public utility.

From thence we proceeded to the city prison, an old and loathsome building, where we examined two ranges of small stone cells, in which were a large number of coloured prisoners. We noticed five or six in a single cell, barely large enough for a solitary tenant, under a heat as intense as that of the tropics. The keeper stated, that, in rainy seasons, the prison was uncomfortably wet. The place had to us a painful interest, from the fact that here Doctor Crandall, a citizen of the free states, was confined until his health was completely broken down, and was finally released only to find a grave, for the crime of having circulated a pamphlet on emancipation, written by one of the friends who accompanied me. On inquiry of the keeper, he informed us that slaves are admitted into his cells, and kept for their owners, at the rate of 34 cents per day, and that transfers of them from one master to another sometimes took place during their confinement; thus corroborating the testimony of the keeper of the private gaol before mentioned, that this city prison, the property of the people of the United States, and for the re-building of which a large sum of your money has been appropriated, is made use of by the dealers in human beings as a place of deposit and market. Thus you, in common with your fellow citizens, are made indirect participants in a traffic equal in atrocity to that foreign trade, the suppression of which, to use the words of your president in his late message, "is required by the public honour and the promptings of humanity."

As one who has devoted much of his humble labours to the cause you wish to promote, perhaps I shall be excused for thus stating these facts to you, as they all passed before my personal observation in the course of a few hours. I shall deem it right to publish them in Europe, where I am about shortly to return. Recollect, they all occurred and exist within the district of Columbia, and that those who elect the legislators who uphold the slave system are justly responsible for it in the sight of God and man. Is it not all the natural consequence of your electing slave-holders and their abettors to the highest offices of your state and nation? Some of your most intelligent citizens have given it as their opinion, that fully two-thirds of the whole population of the United States are in favour of the abolition of slavery; and my own observation since I landed on these shores, not only confirms this opinion, but has convinced me that there is a very rapid accession to their numbers daily taking place; and yet we have the extraordinary fact exhibited to the world, that about 250,000 slave-holders, a large proportion of whom, bankrupt in fortune and reputation, have involved many of the north in their disgrace and ruin, hold in mental bondage the whole population of this great republic, who permit themselves to be involved in the common disgrace of presenting a spectacle of national inconsistency altogether without a parallel. I confess that, although an admirer of many of the institutions of your country, and deeply lamenting the evils of my own government, I find it difficult to reply to those who are opposed to any extension of the political rights of Englishmen, when they point to America, and say, that, where all have a control over the legislation but those who are guilty of a dark skin, slavery and the slave-trade not only remain unmitigated, but continue to extend; and that, while there is an onward movement in favour of its extinction, not only in England and France, but even in Cuba and Brazil, American legislators cling to this enormous evil, without attempting to relax or mitigate its horrors. Allow me, therefore, to appeal to you by every motive which attaches you to your country, seriously to consider how far you are accountable for this state of things, by the want of a faithful discharge of those duties for which every member of a republican government is so deeply responsible; and may I not express the hope that, on all future occasions, you will take care to promote the election of none as your representatives, who will not practically act upon the principle, that, in every clime, and of every colour, "all men are equal?" Your sincere friend,

Philadelphia, 6th mo. 7th, 1841. JOSEPH STURGE.

THE LATE SIR JOHN JEREMIE.

(From the Sierra Leone Gazette Extraordinary.)

Council Chamber, Sierra Leone, 23rd April, 1841.

THE members of Her Majesty's Council have the melancholy duty of announcing to the civil and military officers, and to the inhabitants of the colony at large, the afflicting intelligence of the decease of his Excellency, Sir John Jeremie, Kt., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief, who expired at half-past ten o'clock this morning.

In making this painful communication, the council feel their inability to do justice to the high character and valuable services of the late lamented Governor, whose unwearied exertions for the welfare and benefit of all classes of the inhabitants of this colony were not less zealous than unremitting, and whose death cannot fail, therefore, to be considered as a public calamity, and as such deeply deplored.

L. HOOK, A. C. J.

J. CARR, Q. A. M. C.

W. COLE, M. C.

W. FERGUSSON, M. C.

N. W. MACDONALD, C. S., M. C.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In consequence of a mistake on the part of the Printer, a portion of the Type set up became displaced, and was not discovered until the whole of the impression was thrown off. We beg to apologise to those of our friends who have received copies of the first impression, and to assign this, as a reason, to other friends for the delay in the now corrected impression reaching them. Erron.

The communications of F. A. C. and Mr. Reynolds are somewhat unseasonable at the present moment.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 14TH.

THE documents recently come to hand from Havana are considered of so much importance as to be given entire in the present number of the *Reporter*; and the attention of our readers is directed to them, as indicating the difficulties in the way of abolition to be overcome, and the grounds on which we may hope that the time is not distant when that great work will be accomplished.

They are not less remarkable for their omissions, than for their admissions. Their writers do not attempt to justify the system of slavery on the ground of its accordance with reason or revelation. On the contrary, they speak of it as "an institution which degrades them, and which hinders their interests, in public and private life." They regard it as a "fatal gift received from their ancestors," and as leading to "fatal consequences." They admit that the existence of slavery "exercises a great influence in the depreciation of labour, in the deterioration of manners, and in arresting the progress of the knowledge and skill of the artizan." In this the monarchical Spaniard is unlike the proud republican of North America, who boasts of the institution as "the corner stone of the republican edifice," and a "blessing" he would transmit unimpaired to his latest posterity! The Conde de Santo Venia conceives it to have been the duty of the island of Cuba, from "the period when the humanity of the age began to display itself at the expense of private interest," to have contemplated her situation and her future prospects, and to have endeavoured to secure her "existence on solid and indestructible foundations." He, and those who think with him, would not oppose themselves "to the ideas of the age, to such a degree as to reduce" themselves "to the rank of barbarians in the eyes of the whole world." He says, "the greater part of this community are persuaded that we should greatly gain in safety, in civilization, and in our pecuniary interests, by the substitution of free labour for that of slaves; and," he adds, "every thing appears to be prepared for this reform." Convinced of the imminent peril of continuing the system of slavery, he submits the outline of a plan to the captain-general of Cuba by which he thinks the danger may be averted. It combines with "administrative arrangements which shall for ever put an end to the contraband introduction of Africans," the formation of "new colonies where slave-labour is absolutely prohibited," the colonizing of "such free persons of colour as might desire" it in Africa, and the transportation thither of such of them as have shown themselves unworthy of remaining in Cuba. This scheme is essentially defective. It does not touch the root of the evil, it merely provides against its increase. Nevertheless it is a great advance towards just views on the important question of abolition, and as such we hail it. The municipal corporation of Havana would leave the question of emancipation to the "testamentary settlements of slave-holders," "and the right of self-redemption enjoyed by Spanish slaves; and they add, "who shall say that, within a few years, the difference of castes may not cease to excite alarm, and that domestic slavery may not cease to exist." But further, the municipality are not reluctant to "farther alleviations"....."in the condition of the slave," and are utterly opposed to the continuance of the slave-trade. The tribunal of commerce would "cut away, at once and for ever, all that remains of the contraband traffic in negroes," and would have the work of slave emancipation "proceed slowly, under the influence of time." To this end they say, "Let our beneficent legislation on this subject be carried into effect, in virtue of which every honest and industrious slave enjoys the means of making himself free, and of becoming a useful and laborious member of society."

Thus we learn, that that part of the community in Cuba represented by the Conde de Santo Venia, the municipal corporation, and the tribunal of commerce, so far from justifying the existence of slavery, are not opposed to its gradual, though remote abolition. They are, however, vehemently opposed to its immediate abolition. The municipal corporation say, "a general emancipation" would "only lead to disaster and ruin." "It is not," say they, "the desire to perpetuate slavery, it is not the wretched love of wealth which must perish with the slaves which compose it, on which the opposition to emancipation is founded. The preservation and existence of the white class is that which can and ought to prevent it." The tribunal of commerce observe, that it "does not consider itself destitute of the principles of liberality, humanity, and philanthropy. On the contrary, it is on these principles, that it rests its application for the maintenance on this subject of the *status quo* in the island of Cuba, because it would not be humane, nor just, nor equitable, to sacrifice 400,000

whites, for an object which would only render 500,000 persons of colour more miserable, instead of improving their condition." Substantially the enlightened Conde de Santo Venia takes the same view of the case, and, speaking in the name of those who think with him, says, "we resist with all our might a violent mode of suppression, which destroys us." Yet are the Cuban slave-holders in a dilemma. If abolition has its terrors, so has slavery! In the emphatic language of the Conde, "the tempest is already over their heads," and must be "quelled, unless they are content to be buried in its ravages." "The alarm," he says, "is general, which is an evident proof of the danger, and even those who resist the most rational reforms with the greatest obstinacy are compelled to yield to the necessity of the case." Something must be done, and done immediately, to allay their fears. They dread the slaves, whose natural instincts are all in favour of freedom. They dread the people of colour, whom they designate their "natural enemies," on account of the hateful prejudice which is cherished against them, and the semi-legal bondage in which they are still held. They fear to bring these classes into contact with each other by emancipation, "lest the experience of Cuba, like that of St. Domingo, should speedily confirm the prediction, that, in these islands, the negro race is to exterminate the whites." Already the slave population predominates over the free, in the proportion of 55 to 45; therefore they unite in beseeching the mother country no longer to tolerate "the contraband traffic in negroes, which may still be carried on in fraud of the treaty for its abolition, and in defiance of the laws of the country." They cry out for "the entire suppression of the execrable traffic with Africa," as "the inhabitants of the island of Cuba are the most deeply interested in seeing that the number of the people of colour is not imprudently augmented." In their agony to avoid the crisis which the wise among them have long foreseen, and which is now apprehended to be near—a crisis "which, while it disturbed the *uncertain foundations* of their property" might "cause the whole of their prosperity to disappear"—they renew their entreaties that "administrative arrangements may be made" which shall for ever put an end to the contraband introduction of Africans; and then anxiously suggest a variety of measures to avert the impending danger, and to prepare for that emancipation which they seem to regard as all but inevitable. They would alleviate the condition of the slave—they would afford additional guarantees against his ill-treatment—they would more rigidly enforce the laws which ensure to him the right of self-redemption at a fixed price—they would extend to him the blessings of education—in short, they would do almost any thing but emancipate.

Let us, then, briefly examine the arguments they adduce why they should not perform this great act of justice. 1. Emancipation would lead to the extermination of the whites. 2. Emancipation would lead to the utter destruction of property. 3. Emancipation would not benefit the slave. We advert not to the additional pleas set forth in the memorials to the provisional regency of Spain, on the loss of revenue that would accrue to the state by emancipation, and the implied threat of defection, should the cortes venture to take the subject into consideration. These are points with which the enlightened government and legislature of Spain will know how to deal, when the matter may come before them. Neither shall we attempt a vindication of the abolition societies of Great Britain, France, and the United States, from the absurd charges brought against them, beyond barely stating, that they repudiate all means but those which are strictly of a *moral, religious, and pacific nature*, in promoting the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. They make their appeals to the understandings, the consciences, the hearts, and the interests of men. They appeal not to the passions of the slave—they evoke not the power that slumbers in his arm. Whilst they call on the slaveholder, in the name of humanity, justice, and religion, to restore that to which he has no right, liberty to the slave—they exhort him to patience under suffering, and obedience to the laws under which he has been forcibly placed, until his chains shall be broken by the hand of justice, or melted by the spirit of love.

Nor shall we attempt a formal reply to the imputation cast upon the British government, that its object, in the measures it has taken to promote the suppression of the slave-trade, is the ruin of foreign colonies and the aggrandizement of its own. If this indeed were the object of Great Britain, why has she not sent her fleet to Cuba, to enforce her claims, under the treaties which she has formed with Spain for the abolition of the slave-trade? Why does she not now demand at the cannon's mouth the liberty of every slave, and of the descendant of every slave, who has been illicitly introduced into that island since the year 1817? Has she not the right to do so? Has she not the power? The debt of gratitude which Spain owes to this country is immense; she can never repay it. But we dwell not upon this delicate topic. Let Spain fulfil her solemn engagements with Great Britain—let "the execrable slave-trade" be for ever abolished, and we shall hail with delight this proof of Spanish honour and good faith; and then let the Spanish colonies abolish slavery, and they will find a market for their produce in this country, and a friend—not a spy or a foe—in every Englishman that visits their shores.

We now proceed to notice shortly the objections urged against the abolition of slavery in Cuba. The first and most formidable is, that emancipation would lead to the extermination of the whites, as instanced in the case of St. Domingo. We will not pay the Cubans the ill compliment of supposing that 400,000 whites, armed with all the powers of the government, could not keep in order 500,000 people of colour when free, as they are now confessedly able to do as slaves. Neither will we suppose that they

really consider that acts of injustice and cruelty are less likely to produce the catastrophe they dread than acts of justice and mercy. The writers of the memorials are too intelligent not to perceive, that there must always be more danger in the tyrannical exercise of an usurped authority, than in the firm, yet impartial administration of an equitable law. The government of men by brute force may last so long as that force is adequate to their government, but no longer. The moment the oppressed become conscious of their numbers and their power, the fate of the oppressors is sealed. The fact is, there is no safety but in justice. The Cubans feel this, and hence their alarms. As to the horrors of St. Domingo, they arose not from emancipation, but from the base attempt of the whites to re-enslave a population that had been made free, and had used their freedom well. Let us be permitted to record a few facts, which ought never to be lost sight of in connexion with the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo. In 1793 it became apparent that, either emancipation must take place, or the most terrible calamities must ensue ; and proclamations were issued to the planters, exhorting them to concur in the measure by inscribing their names in a registry opened for that purpose. This they very generally did. Whilst this measure was in progress, the French convention (in February, 1794) passed a decree abolishing slavery throughout the whole of the French colonies ; thus completing and consolidating the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo. The planters in the west of the island, however, were violently opposed to the measure, and carried on a wicked and senseless crusade against negro liberty. Intestine war was thus prolonged, with all its attendant evils. But what were the legitimate results of emancipation ? Colonel Malenfant, who resided in the colony at the time, informs us, that, "after this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet, both in the south and in the west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners or managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun, and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English ; yet, upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes continued their labours where there were even inferior agents to guide them, and on those estates where there were no white men to guide them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions. But, upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labour as quietly as before ! And this state of things continued, without any servile outrage having occurred, during the years 1794, 1795 and 1796. At this period Colonel Malenfant says, "the colony flourished under Toussaint. The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them." Toussaint then became General in Chief of the armies in St. Domingo, and remained in power until the invasion of the island by General Leclerc, in 1802, during the whole of which time the planters kept possession of their estates, and lived upon them without disturbance ; and the negroes, though they had all been emancipated, continued to labour. In 1797, General La Croix, having witnessed the wonderful progress that had been made in agriculture under the government of Toussaint, used these remarkable words : "The colony," said he, "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendour. Cultivation prospered, every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape, and the plantations of the north, rose up again visibly to the eye." And let it be remembered also, that such of the white proprietors as had quitted the island during the struggles of 1793, and afterwards, were invited by Toussaint to resume the possession of their estates, under the most solemn guarantees of safety and protection.

And this was the state of things until 1802, when Leclerc came to the island for the purpose of re-establishing slavery ; and then commenced those horrors over which humanity weeps, and religion turns pale. But who commenced them ? The French. They set examples of the most cruel and heartless butcheries. They sent to Cuba, and were supplied with bloodhounds, which they fed on the flesh of negroes ; and almost the whole island, with the exception of the mountain fastnesses and the forts, became one scene of carnage and desolation. At length the French army was destroyed, and the colony ruined. The blacks were left in possession of their bare liberty, without capital, to build their fortunes as they best might. Was it any wonder that, under these circumstances, they should resolve no longer to trust the whites ? They have now established their independence ; they are recognised by the two most powerful nations in Europe ; and they stand forth to the world an example of what the negro race may become, and a warning to oppressors not to presume too long upon their patience and forbearance. It is clear from this statement, that the horrors of St. Domingo did not result from emancipation, but from a wicked attempt to make slaves of freemen.

Guadeloupe may be instanced as another proof of the safety of immediate emancipation. In 1794 the negroes were declared free ; and, as soon as the furious intestine commotions between the different political parties of the whites, and between the whites and the free people of colour were repressed, we learn that the agriculture of the colony was carried on with spirit and success. In 1801, the number of plantations under cultivation amounted to 390 of sugar, 1355 of coffee, and 325 of cotton, besides 25 pasture or grass farms. In 1802, the supreme council addressed the Commissary Valluet, of the canton de Deshayes, to this effect :—" We perceive with pleasure that you have devoted your attention to this most essential branch of your administra-

tion (the payment of wages to the free labourers). It is in exercising this justice towards the men whose sweat is the source, both of our private and public wealth, that you can alone acquire a right to exert your authority to enforce upon them the due performance of their duties. Continue to maintain that order in your canton, which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction," they add, "of having given an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes." But this happy state of things was disturbed. Immediately after the peace of Amiens, a powerful French force was sent to take possession of Guadeloupe, and to reduce the negroes to their former state of bondage. They resisted the iniquitous attempt, and it is said that 20,000 of them fell in their struggle for freedom. They were conquered, however, and slavery was re-established, to the everlasting disgrace of Napoleon Buonaparte, and the whites who urged him on to the foul deed.

All the instances of emancipation (and they are numerous) which have taken place during the last sixty years, prove the entire safety of the measure. Besides the instances of St. Domingo and Guadeloupe, we may enumerate those of Java, whilst under the government of Sir Stamford Raffles (unfortunately reversed by the Dutch, at the cost of 6000 negro lives) ; the free states of North America, Mexico, St. Helena, the crown slaves in the British colonies, the Hottentots (30,000 in number) at the Cape of Good Hope, and (last in the catalogue) the emancipation of 750,000 slaves belonging to Great Britain, in the West Indies, South America, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. In which of these cases have the whites suffered extermination, as the result of emancipation ? May we not appeal with confidence to the intelligence—the sober good sense of the Cubans themselves, to corroborate our statement that the danger lies with slavery, not with emancipation ? The history of servile insurrections, though often put down by the sword and the scaffold, if not by more terrible means than these, attests the dangers of slavery. Emancipate, and you remove the cause of these insurrections. Gratitude will then take place of revenge ; and the slave, who now regards his oppressor as a foe, will then hail the same man as a benefactor.

In the second place, it is said that emancipation will lead to the utter destruction of property. "The ruin of the proprietors would be the immediate consequence of emancipation," says the tribunal of commerce. This is altogether an exaggeration. It is the language of fear, not of reason ; or, if it be not the language of fear, it must be considered as an appeal to the cupidity of the mother country. Indeed, the government is reminded, that it derives four millions of dollars annually from Cuba under the slave system, which would be risked by the abolition of it ; and the merchants are reminded that there would be no market for their produce if emancipation took place. The Cubans adduce no proofs of this, except what they are pleased to term "the melancholy condition of Jamaica." It is certainly to be lamented that any planters in that island, by their base conduct and false statements, should have given the slightest occasion to their neighbours to question the beneficial results of emancipation. Nevertheless it is a fact that cannot be disproved, that, with the exception of those who had forfeited the confidence of the negroes, of those whose estates were too much impoverished to be cultivated, and of those who have violated the trust reposed in them by absent proprietors, the abolition of slavery in Jamaica, as well as in every other colony of Great Britain in which it has taken place, has worked well. Not only has the most perfect peace prevailed there—not only has crime of all kinds greatly diminished ; but, on those plantations where the labourers have been paid moderately for their hire, and have been treated as freemen, the expenses of cultivation have been diminished from twelve to twenty-five per cent., and the import of manufactured goods, the produce of Great Britain, has increased 50 per cent. Let not the Cubans be deceived by the reports of interested men ; but let them consult the official papers printed by order of the government and legislature of the country, which will be found to demonstrate the following facts : 1. That the negro freeman, so far from being indisposed to labour, is anxious to sell his labour for moderate wages ; and, 2nd, that, in those cases (which are the mere exception to the rule) in which he has refused to labour, the fault was not his, but may be traced to the system pursued by his master. In the islands generally the value of property has risen greatly since emancipation, and in none of them has it decreased—a decisive proof that ruin and emancipation are not synonymous terms. But, supposing that the immediate effect of emancipation had been injurious to the pecuniary interests of the planters, they have gained that which no wealth, under the system of slavery, could purchase—security ! They have no fears of insurrections now. They dread not now the midnight attack—the conflagration of their fields—the destruction of their cattle—the terrible revenge of exasperated slaves. They have gained also morally. No longer slave-holders, they can now move in society without having the finger of scorn pointed at them, or hearing the stern rebuke of the friends of humanity. How many of them have feelingly and eloquently observed, "the day that liberated our slaves, emancipated us !" Happily for Cuba, all her sons are not alarmists. The key note that the interests of the colonists would be advanced "by the substitution of free-labour for that of slaves" has been struck by one of her most eminent men, and will vibrate until it meets with a response from the whole community. On the reception and application of this doctrine the present tran-

[WEDNESDAY,

quillity and the ultimate prosperity of Cuba depends. May the inhabitants of that fine island be wise to comprehend, and prompt to apply it! Then they will find no truer friends or more faithful allies than the abolitionists of this country, whom they are now pleased to brand with the opprobrious epithets of hypocrites and fanatics.

But, thirdly, we are told that emancipation would be injurious to the negro. Admitting his abstract right to liberty, the municipal corporation would yet deny him the enjoyment of it, not only on the ground that it would be incompatible with the safety of the whites, but that they would "not be able to preserve their existence without the perpetration of crimes"—"they would be miserable in proportion to their numbers." On these grounds, then, their slavery must be perpetual. This is the doctrine of the tribunal of commerce. "This tribunal," say they, "does not consider itself destitute of the principles of liberality, humanity, and philanthropy. On the contrary, it is on these principles that it rests its application for the maintenance on this subject of the *status quo* in the island of Cuba, because it would not be humane, nor just, nor equitable, to sacrifice 400,000 whites, for an object which would only render 500,000 persons of colour more miserable, instead of improving their condition. It was not the present inhabitants of the country who created the condition of domestic slavery. This fatal gift they received from their ancestors; and, it having been conceded to them by law, with all its fatal consequences, including the inherent ignorance and brutality of the slaves and the demoralization of the free people of colour, they find themselves in the dreadful dilemma of either maintaining their authority or submitting to extermination; while, for those in subjection, the dilemma is not less odious, of becoming criminals or remaining slaves." Now all this has been affirmed again and again by slave-holders, in the face of the mighty accumulation of facts which history presents on the subject. We ask the Cubans to look around them. Let them study well the history of Hayti. Amidst all the defects which attach to the people of that interesting republic, amidst all the difficulties with which they have had to struggle, they are improving in intelligence and increasing in wealth. They have more than doubled their population in 30 years, and, under a more extended system of education and religious culture, we are confident they will be second to no people in the Antilles—they are already superior in civilization and government to most of the South American republics. But especially we say, look to the British colonies. The testimony of all impartial men bears witness to the rapid improvement of the emancipated slaves in civilization, education, and religion—to their cheerful obedience to the laws, and their willing industry when fairly and honourably treated. As to the retention of the slave population of Cuba in perpetual bondage, that is impossible. The doom of slavery throughout the civilised world is sealed. We are no advocates for accomplishing its overthrow "by violent or unseasonable means." We wish to see it everywhere abolished by peaceful means—means which shall secure alike the welfare of the master, and the happiness of the enfranchised slave. But our doctrine is "immediate and entire abolition," as the only safe mode of proceeding—the wisest and the best for all parties. Of course we do not mean emancipation without those necessary legal restraints which bind civil society together. Let the act of emancipation be coupled with equitable laws, and with an impartial administration of justice, and we may safely predict that the results will be as beneficial as the measure will be just.

In a second edition of our last number, we gave to the public an interesting document which came to hand at the moment—an address from Mr. Sturge to the abolitionists of the United States. We have reprinted it to-day for the information of our readers at large. They will read it with great pleasure. It professes a characteristic combination of simplicity and power, and cannot fail of producing a most valuable effect. Up to this point Mr. Sturge has pursued a private and quiet course in the United States; but, while his address will show that he has not been retiring through want of courage, the pro-slavery papers furnish evidence that his private operations have not been without influence.

We give two extracts, the one from the *New York Inquirer*, and the other from the *New York Herald*, the tone of which is highly satisfactory. The soreness and bitterness here shown are a most trustworthy measure of the efficacy with which the party assailed has been promoting the anti-slavery cause. It cannot be necessary to state on this side the Atlantic, that Mr. Sturge never was a member of the British parliament, and that he is an uncompromising opponent of the corn monopoly.

THE MOVEMENTS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS HERE AND IN ENGLAND.—Our readers are aware that a notorious and violent abolitionist, named Joseph Sturge, lately arrived in this country from England, with designs almost as wild and incendiary as the notorious Thompson, and with a determination to do all in his power to break up the "domestic institutions" of the southern states. For this purpose he has been backed up by all the wealth and power of the abolitionists in England, who seem determined to interfere in and destroy, if possible, our social institutions, and set this country in a flame. To effect this, we have reason to believe this man Sturge has brought large sums of money; and if there was any doubt of his real intentions, the letter addressed by his brother to the *London Standard* impudently discloses them:—

"To the EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

"Birmingham, May 19.

"Sir,—After the manner in which my brother, Joseph Sturge, is men-

tioned in the *Standard* of yesterday, I think it but due to him that you should inform your numerous readers that he is now in the United States, doing all in his power to assist the abolitionists there, and that, if in England, I am sure he would oppose, to the utmost of his ability, this abominable Whig attempt to introduce slave-grown sugar.

"I am very respectfully, &c.

"CHARLES STURGE."

Soon after the arrival of this man here the abolitionists had a grand meeting, and formed a new plan of organization, when they issued the following circular:—

The abolitionists of the city of New York are estimated at between three and four thousand. And whereas the majority between the two great political parties was shown by the last election to be less than five hundred, it seems beyond all reasonable doubt, if one thousand will come out and stand aloof from their respective parties, and vote for none but true men, they can thus hold the balance of power, and thus compel at least the weaker of the two to put in nomination true abolitionists.

In view of such results, we have sketched out a plan (subject to be revised) hereunto annexed. And, should you deem the object worthy of your support, we earnestly request you and your friends to enroll your names and place of residence thereto, and forthwith return the same to yours respectfully,

G. Wheeler,
R. Sedgwick,
Thomas Day, Jun.
Norman Francis,
James E. H. Wallin,
Thomas Ritter,
James J. Sawyer,
James H. French,
Ass Parker,
N. Southard,
W. S. Dror,
C. B. Hatch,

George R. Barker,
Leonard Gibbs,
William Tracey,
Alexander Macdonald,
Horace Dresser,
Asher Atkinson,
Anthony Lane,
R. G. Williams,
George M. Tracy,
Joel M. Hubbard,
Augustus I. Gillett.

New York, June 1st, 1841.

PLAN.—This committee agree to the following rules, subject to such alterations as a majority shall direct.

I. No person shall sign these articles (except as honorary members) unless he be a voter in the city.

II. No person shall be bound by any of these articles till one thousand names are hereunto subscribed.

III. When one thousand names are so subscribed, any five members may call a meeting and organize.

IV. It shall be the duty of this committee, when organized, to put in nomination such candidates for important offices as honest and good citizens can support with an approving conscience. Such, and such only, as will remember the poor and oppressed, who, on the theatre of action, will do justice and judgment, "and go to the very verge of the constitution and the laws," "to undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

V. When such nominations are so made, and approved of by a majority, every member shall stand pledged each to the other, in all honour and honesty to, vote for such candidate.

It will doubtless be deemed by the people of this country a very kind and considerate act of this itinerant abolitionist, to put himself to so much trouble to rectify the institutions of this country. But, first, it may be as well to state that Messrs. Joseph and Charles Sturge are two of that odious class of creatures known in England as "corn monopolists." They began business in the corn monopoly trade about ten years ago, with a very small capital, but, by riding half over England, and buying up all the corn they could lay their hands upon, monopolizing it on the largest scale which their means would allow, and then holding on to it as long as possible, they would at last sell it out to the poor white slaves of England at enormous prices, and thus obtain enormous profits.

In this way these two "corn monopolists" have realised large fortunes. With the sufferings of the poor white labourers of England they have no sympathy; all their tears and afflictions are reserved for the negroes of this country. And, in furtherance of their impudent plan of disorganization and interference, this Joseph Sturge is now at Washington, using every means in his power to procure the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. It was principally through his sinister influence that the division in the house of representatives the other day resulted in favour of the abolitionists; and what he may effect before he gets through with his schemes there it is impossible to say.

Of course, as Charles Sturge says, his brother would oppose the measure of the whigs relative to the sugar duties, because they know that such a plan would be a relief to the suffering white population of England; and because also, the whig ministry having introduced a bill to abolish the odious corn laws (so long and loudly demanded by the great body of the people of England), their monopoly in it would be broken up, and their "occupation gone," so far as relates to their grinding and oppressing the labouring white man.

Let the Southern delegation in Congress look after this Sturge.—*New York Herald.*

Joseph Sturge, an abolition agent to this country, who, we believe, either is or was a member of the British Parliament, has published a letter of which he is the bearer to the president of the United States, on the subject of the enormous iniquities of our slave system. In other words, a memorial to our chief magistrate to rescind the constitution of the United States; for, if the letter is not utterly senseless, that is the only sense in which it can be interpreted. It was written originally, we are gravely informed, to General Harrison, but will be presented to Mr. Tyler. We presume Mr. Tyler will treat the mission and its bearer with the contempt they merit. The letter itself purports to have been written by the "venerable Thomas Clarkson," but, by whomsoever written or by whomsoever borne, it is a piece of impudent impudence that ought to consign every body connected with it to the *cage of the door keeper*, whenever they enter the presidential mansion. It is a gross and direct insult to the country, and should be so treated.

It is a pretty time of day, sure enough, if these English gentry suppose they can be permitted to interfere in this way with the internal concerns of the country, and make the very executive hall the theatre of their fathomless insolence. We recollect a good deal of the history of this

Sturge. At some assemblage of abolitionism in England not long since, or in a letter to some body of the sort, he indulged himself in abuse and invective upon the people of the United States, only equalled by the burley black-guard O'Connell. A very proper person this to carry letters to our president, and deliver them in person at Washington while Congress is in session.

In time of war it was deemed necessary to send British subjects "forty miles from tide water." When, in a time of profound peace, an emissary comes among us intent on mischief infinitely more dangerous, it would be about as well to escort him "forty miles towards tide water," and tell him to go home and mind his own business. We do not recommend a supplemental kick or two, by way of reminding him of his manners hereafter, but it would be no inappropriate mode of teaching John Bull that he had better take care of his own slaves before he meddles with ours.—*New York Enquirer.*

Intelligence from the United States.

OUR news from the United States is unusually copious and interesting, and we shall devote to it as much space as more pressing matter will allow.

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Was held in New York, on the 11th of May. We give the following extracts from the report.

STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

Though the year has been one of comparative inaction, with reference to efforts in this country under direction of your committee, we can sincerely congratulate the society that the anti-slavery cause, both in Europe and this country, has been neither inactive nor stationary. In no former year has the general progress of the public mind towards the universal extinction of slavery been so extensive. The limits of an annual report will allow only a glance at some of the facts which illustrate this view of things. It will be seen that the prevailing bankruptcy and pecuniary embarrassment which has so curtailed the resources of anti-slavery societies, has at the same time been doing the work of those societies. By its long continuance, by the baffling of every effort for a retrieval of affairs, by the constant sinking of both governmental and individual credit deeper and deeper into a pit of which no well-informed man will affirm that we have even yet touched the bottom, by spreading its calamities over the nation, in the midst of profound peace, and universal health, and overflowing plenty—it is at length compelling a reluctant nation to look at the cause of its calamities. Should this cause operate a little longer, as it promises to do, it will do the work of thousand anti-slavery lecturers, in convincing the people of the United States that they must speedily destroy slavery, or slavery will speedily destroy them. The other causes which have embarrassed our organized anti-slavery operations have, in one way or another, been overruled for the advancement of the Anti-slavery cause; while there never has been a year in which every thing actually done for abolition has told with a better effect, than in that which is just past.

THE LONDON CONVENTION.

One of the most important of the great events of our cause the past year, is the holding of the General Convention of Abolitionists from various countries at London, in June last. The members of this committee, at a very early period, adopted a resolution in favour of such a meeting; but, in due respect to our brethren of the London committee, the calling of the convention was referred to their discretion, as the labour and responsibility of getting it up would devolve upon them. Nobly did they discharge the trust, and under their auspices there was convened such a body of philanthropists, from different countries, as the world has never seen assembled before. The result of their deliberations has already been widely communicated to the public, and ought to satisfy even the careless that the day is not distant, when the extinction of human slavery by peaceful means will be deemed a common interest of human nature. By the slaveholders of this country the World's Convention has been viewed with deep dismay. From the manner in which it is constantly referred to by their governors, editors, and members of congress, it is clear they think the convention a movement which they cannot but respect, however much they may hate its doings. The abolitionists of this country have generally approved the principles on which the convention proceeded, as well as the tone and spirit of its acts. Its attention was turned to a great variety of subjects, and a vast amount of highly important information was collected and diffused. The utmost impartiality and singleness of purpose ruled in the convention, and the highest expectations of its friends were fully realized. Among its most important acts, there were two measures which require a particular notice—the addresses to the different governments, and the resolutions with regard to the excise of christian fellowship and communion towards slaveholders. The former is already preparing the way to bring the subject of emancipation into the diplomacy of all nations. The latter promises ere long to bring the power of Christianity to bear against the great stronghold which slavery has found in the churches.

Impressed with a deep sense of the good achieved by the first convention, the committee have deemed it their duty to request the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to take measures for holding another convention, on the same principles, in the summer of the year 1842.

The report next adverts to the progress which has been made among the churches towards a definite determination in regard to the question of communion with slave-holders. The decided resolution adopted by the London convention, and sustained by many of the leading ministers of the Great Britain, such as Wardlaw, Cox, Junes, &c., has been followed by concurrent resolutions in a large number of individual churches, in both countries. This form of operation has an advantage in being out of the contact of the larger ecclesiastical bodies, and therefore likely to be acted upon under other considerations than those of expediency, and a temporizing spirit. The committee believe the day is drawing on, when churches, ministers, and religious professors, who are guilty of slaveholding, and who refuse to renounce their sin after proper christian remonstrance, will be regarded in the same light as those who persevere against light in the sin of idol-worship, or any other kindred enormity.

POLITICAL EXCITEMENT.

One of the most material incidents of the year, affecting the anti-slavery cause, has been the uncommon political excitement connected with the last presidential election. As soon as it became apparent that the opposition to the late administration was about to take an effective attitude, the ever-vigilant SLAVE POWER was on the alert, to take care that the overshadowing interests of that "detestable institution" should be well secured in case of a change of rulers. Having held uncontrolled sway under the "northern man with southern principles," and gained all that he had to give, the most profound political skill was put in requisition to secure an equal subserviency, although differently manifested, under his successor. At the same time, it was almost equally necessary for the opposition to take such a course as should secure the support of the main body of northern abolitionists, who were either politically opposed to the administration, or had been sickened or driven from its ranks by its shameless subserviency to slavery, and its readiness to prostrate justice, liberty, law, the constitution, the interest and honour of the nation, and the union itself, if necessary, for the preservation of slavery. It deserves to be recorded among the remarkable triumphs of political finesse, that both of these schemes were signal success; and the country has witnessed the strange spectacle of the great body of slaveholders and the great body of abolitionists zealously uniting for the elevation of the same men, and shouting harmonious peans at the election of Harrison and Tyler to the highest offices of the nation. That two parties so opposite in their views, with principles so conflicting and with antagonist interests so paramount as they both professed theirs to be, could be both acting intelligently and consistently, is clearly impossible. Which party gained and which lost in this new compromise, is now no longer problematical.

The committee looked on this tornado of party spirit, in which the interests of truth, justice and humanity were lost sight of, with the deepest concern, and especially at seeing many who, by their public station, intellectual power, or zealous services, had become prominent in the anti-slavery ranks, either actively engaged to swell the torrent, or to counteract the efforts of those who were endeavouring to bring out the truth in regard to the state of affairs. Though the great body of the abolitionists fell into the snare which slaveholders and their venal parasites had set, and for a time it seemed that the abolition cause had been laid aside and abandoned, yet the committee rejoice to record the fact that a tried and faithful band were found in every one of the free states, who were not ashamed to proclaim themselves uncompromising abolitionists, who would not vote for a slaveholder for president, nor for the office which by contingency would make him president of the United States. Seven thousand voters, of a class yielding to no other equal number for virtue and intelligence and inflexible perseverance, refused to bow the knee to the Baal of slavery, but cast their votes directly against the further domination of the slave power. Although they are in numbers but a handful, among more than two millions of citizens who gave their votes at the last election, yet we are sure that the slaveholder does not despise them. The fact that, in every place where the question has since been carried to the polls in local or state elections, the number of anti-slavery votes have increased two, four, and ten fold, shows that the northern politicians would be wiser not to affect too much contempt for this movement.

One important result of the late campaign, has been to increase and strengthen the conviction among many of the most devoted and active abolitionists, that the conduct of politicians of all parties has driven the friends of liberty to the adoption of a systematic and independent political action. The political power of slavery is one of its great strong holds. It might be difficult to decide which is most essential to its perpetuity, its standing in the church, or its control of the federal and state governments. The constitution of the society forbids any actual participation in the machinery of party political arrangements. But the committee would do injustice to their own convictions, were they not to say that they regard the general policy of independent anti-slavery nominations as having become a permanent and integral part of the great movements by which slavery is to be overthrown.

With regard to the extent and degree to which this policy should be carried, the committee would not pretend to dictate for their fellow-citizens. But they trust the day will never come again, when professed abolitionists will allow themselves to unite with slaveholders in elevating to office men who, they have reason to believe, will use their trust for the support of slavery. The slaveholders profess to construe the support given by professed abolitionists to pro-slavery candidates at the late election as a pledge of abandonment of the cause. Though we do not believe it was so intended by abolitionists, who yielded to the pressure of the times, yet we are satisfied by the present condition of the cause, that the future beneficial influence of such men upon the politics of this country will depend upon their future course in regard to the support of pro-slavery men for office.

TEXAS.

Among the instances of that wise providence which overrules the selfish measures of men for the furtherance of the benevolent designs of God, we may class the recent complete derangement of the plans of four slaveholding politicians, in consequence of the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of Texas. With the act itself we have no fellowship, satisfied as we are that it was brought about by the grossest misrepresentations, operating upon the most sordid motives that ever influenced national diplomacy. But its effect has been, under all the circumstances in which it took place, to defeat for ever the great design of annexing that territory to the American Union, for the creation of a sufficient number of slaveholding states to serve as a counterpoise to the political power and growth of the free north-west. It has also opened Texas to an influx of free labourers, and of anti-slavery influence from Great Britain, which may in time change the character and the policy of the republic, and make the republic a strong-hold of Anglo-Saxon liberty—instead of Anglo-Saxon slavery, as its founders intended.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The London convention, with the subsequent labours of the late secretaries of this society, has given a new impulse to the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain. While we have no idea that the government or people of Great Britain are actuated by considerations less exclusively selfish than those which govern the policy of our own or other countries, it is a matter of rejoicing that circumstances should have imposed upon such a nation

the necessity of carrying out certain magnificent undertakings in favour of liberty and humanity, at any cost that may be required. The anti-slavery committee in London seems to be indefatigable in its labours, as well as singularly comprehensive in its views, and wise and energetic in its action. While it maintains a sleepless vigilance on behalf of the lately emancipated subjects of its own government, it turns a scrutinizing eye upon every country of the globe where slavery exists, and there appears a possibility of commencing a movement for its extinction. Surely it required no ordinary measure of zeal and confidence, to undertake anti-slavery missions, first to Egypt, and then to Spain; to investigate the abuses and cruelties of slavery in the mines of Brazil, and on the sugar plantations in the interior of the island of Cuba; to find and keep an open door of official intercourse with nearly every government of the civilised world, except the United States. So far from being wearied with the great labour, care, and expense connected with the holding of the general convention, they seem to be all the while gathering new strength and courage. Recently we have been favoured with the pleasure of welcoming to our shores one of their fellow-labourers, himself a mainspring of their movements, who brings us the assurance that they are prepared for any new undertakings which the interests of the cause may seem to require. We cannot but hope that the visit of Joseph Sturge to this country may be the means of great good to the anti-slavery cause—that his single-hearted wisdom, his impartiality and uprightness, and his habit of accomplishing what he undertakes, may be the means of giving a desirable impulse to the anti-slavery movement in this country.

The labours of the British India Society, of the African Civilization Society, of the India cotton cultivation, all affecting slavery, continue to attract interest, although they do not come within the compass of direct efforts for the single object of abolishing slavery. The increased activity of the British cruisers against the African slave-trade must cause great embarrassments to those engaged in this nefarious traffic; but the greatest point gained in this respect, is in the conviction recently expressed by the British secretary, Lord Palmerston, to a deputation who waited on him from the anti-slavery society, that no measures can be effectual for the suppression of the slave-trade without the extinction of slavery itself. Let this conviction become a settled maxim of the British government, and it will soon employ all the influence of its diplomatic intercourse with all nations to procure as decided and universal action against slavery, as it has already procured against the slave-trade. The king of Prussia, in his reply to the communication of the World's Convention, has already declared his desire to do all that lies in the power of his government to remove so crying an outrage against the universal human race.

MOVEMENTS OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

The intimate connexion of the condition of the people of colour who are nominally free with the question of slavery as it is presented in this country, has naturally devolved upon the anti-slavery societies the duty of watching for their interests, and of aiding, as far as practicable, their laudable efforts to rise to their proper place in the social scale. The past year has produced a new and most promising movement on their part, which the committee view as a pleasing proof that the proper spirit of enterprise is waking up in the bosoms of our disfranchised fellow-citizens. The elevation of men depends upon their own efforts, and it is a thing unheard of in history that those who are not actual slaves should gain an enlargement of their civil rights without a determined movement among themselves. With this view, we rejoiced at the call for a state convention of the free citizens of colour in the state of New York. From the beginning we felt it our duty to give this movement all the encouragement in our power. It seemed to us to be straining a point beyond reason, to allege the calling of a separate convention under such circumstances as a departure from anti-slavery principles in regard to the equal right of all classes of citizens. The result has surpassed the hopes of the most sanguine. The doings of the convention, especially the address put forth to the people of colour, and to the inhabitants of the state, have had a most beneficial influence in opening the eyes of men to the intelligence and worth already gained by the disfranchised and oppressed class. So strong was the impression produced, that, when the agents appointed by the convention to attend to their memorial with the legislature of the state, requested a public hearing before the judiciary committee, the request was promptly granted, and the committee was addressed for several evenings by citizens of colour, with an array of facts, a cogency of reasoning, and a pathos of appeal, that surprised even the most enlightened friend of the memorial. The report of the committee which followed, though brief, was fully in favour of allowing the prayer for the restoration of the equal right of suffrage. There is some reason to fear that prejudice and party machinations may yet defeat the measure, during the few remaining days of the session. But "God helps them that help themselves," and, if our fellow-citizens will persevere on their present track, they must succeed in the end.

We are happy to observe that measures are already in train for holding similar conventions in the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania. The chief object of both is to take into consideration the civil disabilities and restrictions under which they labour, and to adopt lawful measures for obtaining their rights.

In the same connexion it is proper to refer to the continued support of a valuable newspaper called the *Coloured American*, to the multiplication of literary and other societies for the improvement of the younger people of colour, and to the progress of temperance in the same class.

While those whose interests we plead are thus faithfully labouring to make themselves more valuable citizens, the events of the year have renewed our early convictions that their present prosperity, as well as the general destiny of their class, requires them to consider this their native land as their fixed abiding place. The wretched poverty and internal dissensions of the colony of Liberia, the plans for removing the inhabitants of Sierra Leone to the West Indies, the disastrous issue of the attempted emigration to Trinidad, all show the importance of a general and definitive understanding, by all parties, that the compulsory settlement of this country by the African race, with the cruel sufferings they have endured, and the immense labours they have performed, have given them a right of continuance on the American soil, which God requires them to claim for themselves and their children, and from which he does not intend they shall ever be driven. The sooner all parties make up their minds to act on this basis, with a wise cast for the welfare of posterity, the sooner will these tedious agitations be settled. In no other way can they be put to rest.

The report then adverts to the important disclosures of the late census in regard to the comparative growth and peace of the slave and free states, the waste of life occasioned by the domestic slave-trade, to the increased regard for principles among the governments of the free states, to the noble stand taken by Governor Seward in his controversy with Virginia. It then proceeds:

All these things have at length begun to awaken the slaveholders to consider the subject of emancipation as a practical inquiry. Of this we have several specific proofs.

1. The Hon. Mr. Cooper, member of congress from Georgia, in his speech in reply to Mr. Giddings, declared his intention of returning to his constituents, to lay the question before them for a decision at no distant day, whether they shall withdraw from the union, or set themselves to prepare for gradual emancipation.

2. The Hon. Mr. Walker, U. S. senator from Mississippi, in his argument before the supreme court, appealed to that tribunal to sustain the right of Mississippi to protect herself against the overwhelming influx of slaves from the north, on the ground that, otherwise, his state would be driven to the alternative of emancipation, as the only resource of self-preservation.

3. The Hon. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, in his argument on the other side of the same case, urged that, if it was not in the power of congress to protect northern states, in the right of disposing of their surplus slaves, they would have to emancipate to prevent being overrun with them.

4. The rev. Richard Fuller, Baptist minister, Beaufort, South Carolina, in a letter to the *Biblical Recorder*, March 2nd, 1841, says, that, "as the universal feeling at the north renders more than problematical a continuance of this confederacy, if slavery continue;" and, "above all, as great abuses will be inevitable while the institution lasts, ought not patriots and christians throughout the land to mingle their counsels and their prayers, and seriously ask what can be done?" And he expresses the hope "that a vast majority throughout the whole country may yet unite in suggesting and achieving some project, by which, at as moderate a price as possible, our slaves may be slowly freed and colonized—leaving only a sufficient number to cultivate the soil as hired labourers!" How many are to be required "to cultivate the soil" of one-half the Union, and by what means they are to be kept in the condition of "hired labourers," probably the gentleman has not fully settled in his own mind, nor how "slowly" those should be "freed" who are left among us for this purpose. "Leaving only a sufficient number to cultivate the soil," we have no objections against "colonizing" the rest, with their own consent, nor would we care how "slowly" those are freed, provided the others are *bond fide*, and at once placed in the condition and protected in the rights of "hired labourers."

5. The recent discussions in the legislature of Kentucky have settled the policy of that state in favour of the extermination, rather than the extension of slavery; and the leading papers of both parties admit, that, whenever the question comes before the people, the great majority will be in favour of abolition. The numerous and burdensome absurdities of the state constitution cannot be borne much longer, and, whenever its revision is undertaken, the people will have the power to act on the subject of slavery.

THE RESOLUTIONS adopted at the meeting were as follows:—

"Resolved, That the defence which slaveholders have offered of their right to hold their fellow-men as property, so far from shaking our faith in the doctrine of immediate abolition, has only confirmed us in the belief, that their system of slavery has a tendency to blunt the noblest sympathies of their hearts.

"Resolved, That, under a government like ours, the idea that christians and philanthropists have nothing to do with politics is pernicious; that, inasmuch as slavery is not only a moral evil, but the greatest political evil of our country, and only to be abolished by political action; and as each individual voter possesses political power in the proportion of one to the whole number, all sincere and enlightened abolitionists must feel it to be their duty to use their votes for the overthrow of slavery—as an object paramount in importance to all other political questions.

"Resolved, That the wonderful providence of God displayed in the history of the Mendi Africans of the Amistad; in their rescue from Spanish slave traders; in wafting them to this land; in the circumstances attending their condition and various trials; in the righteous decision of the supreme court of the country, triumphing over an executive conspiracy of unparalleled atrocity, and in the opening vision of mercy to Africa through these humble instruments, must inspire the heart of the christian with devout gratitude, and give new courage to all the friends of human liberty.

"Resolved, That the action of his Excellency the governor of this state in the existing controversy between Virginia and New York, has the approbation of this meeting, and does equal honour to this great state, and to the chief magistrate who presides over it.

"Resolved, That this society cordially approves the principles on which the general Anti-slavery Convention in London was organized, and the spirit with which its proceedings were conducted; that we rejoice in the great advantage which has already resulted to our cause from its acts, and in the belief that consequences of still greater value are to follow, and that we recommend to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, to whom the subject was referred by the Convention, to call another Convention on the same principles in the year 1842.

"Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the churches and christian societies of every name the duty of bearing decided testimony against the abomination of slavery, by refusing the privileges of membership and communion to all who are guilty of that sin, or who justify the practice, until they give evidence of repentance, and also to bear decided testimony against the sinful prejudice against colour."

We add from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the following editorial remarks:—

In reviewing the events of the past year—and the part we have been permitted to take in carrying forward the great cause of emancipation—we have much to inspire us with gratitude to God, and to fill us with hope that the same gracious being will continue to smile upon the cause so dear to him. The seed that has been so bountifully sown by abolitionists is springing up in all directions, and all not blinded by prejudice must see that a glorious harvest will be the result. "Abolitionists have not been the cause of it," say some, "nor shall they have the credit of it." We will not dispute this point, nor do we desire that abolitionists have the credit of what God has effected, and is effecting, through their instrumentality. To Him be all the glory.

We have much to encourage us with regard to the future. The attention of the whole nation is now awake to the anti-slavery question. It is discussed in legislative halls—in courts of justice—in periodicals—in steam-boats—in railroad cars—in churches—everywhere. Now is the time, then, for abolitionists to press forward, diffusing intelligence, scattering publications, and arousing the nation to increased action. The executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society are determined, with united energy, to do all they can to fulfil the trusts committed to them. It is their intention to scatter publications—to urge on the churches non-communion with slaveholders—to urge on the people, and especially abolitionists, consistent political action—to invoke the legislatures of the free states to expunge from their statute books every vestige of slavery—to urge the congress of the United States to do all they can constitutionally for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the extinction of slavery—to labour for their coloured brethren, that they may enjoy all the rights which other citizens enjoy—and to make preparations for the general convention to be held in London the ensuing year. For the accomplishment of these objects, and others that may occur, the committee are in want of funds; and they urgently appeal to their brethren to furnish them with the pecuniary means to carry forward the trusts committed to them, while they ask the prayers of the devout that the blessing of Almighty God may attend their labours.

NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION.

A NEW body under this title met at New York, on the 12th of May. It consisted of 141 delegates, from eleven states; and it was their object to consider and act upon the propriety of then nominating presidential candidates for the election of 1844. After ballots which were decided by very large majorities, it was resolved unanimously,

That James G. Birney, of New York, as candidate for the Presidency, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, as candidate for the office of Vice Presidency, be unanimously and cordially supported at the election of 1844, and recommended to the support and confidence of the people of the United States as the worthy representatives of the just principle of liberty, and deserving the highest honours that can be bestowed by a people wishing to be free.

The following resolutions also were adopted:—

That the friends of liberty throughout the nation be requested to nominate and to vote for Township, County, and all other officers, favourable to the immediate abolition of slavery.

That duty, patriotism, and humanity, call upon all Americans to unite heartily and fully in the effort to remove all oppressive laws, and to establish equal rights and the impartial administration of justice throughout this land.

That the thanks of the liberty party, and of the people of the United States, are due to Joshua Leavitt, for his memorial, accompanied with appropriate statistical tables, to the 22nd congress, praying the adoption of measures to secure an equitable and adequate market for American wheat.

That this convention recommend to our friends throughout the country to send in their memorials to the congress now about to assemble, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and the inter-state slave-trade.

That the president of the United States be respectfully requested to liberate his slaves, and that the presentation of this request be referred to the discretion of Alvan Stewart, Samuel Webb, and Benjamin Shaw.

The convention then adopted a plan of organization for the Liberty Party (for so the new party is to be called), and resolved to meet again in two years.

FRIENDS' MEETING.

ON Thursday evening of last week, the members of the Society of Friends (orthodox) assembled in this city at their annual meeting, met at their meeting house in Orchard street, to listen to the statements of John Candler, of England, lately returned from a visit to the West India islands, as to the results of emancipation in those islands, and also of our esteemed friend, Joseph Sturge, in reference to the general subject of emancipation throughout the world.

The meeting was largely attended. The successful and happy results of the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the colonies, as detailed by John Candler, were calculated to strengthen the conviction that to do justice is always expedient. Joseph Sturge gave a history of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain from the time of the old abolition society, of which Thomas Clarkson was a member, and of which he is sole survivor. He also glanced at the state of the cause in other quarters of the globe, at the efforts for East India emancipation, and at late movements in France, Brazil, and Spain, in favour of emancipation; concluding with a most affecting appeal to the members of his religious society to omit no right opportunity for pleading for the slave, and for hastening the day of his deliverance.—*A. & F. Reporter.*

ABOLITIONISM IN KENTUCKY.

If the signs of the times do not deceive us, the time is come when the people of Kentucky should call a convention, and change their fundamental law. The slaveholder must prepare himself to give up his slaves. We have not read a speech made in the Kentucky Legislature against the repeal of the act of 1833, which does not abound with maledictions upon the evils of slavery. If these gentlemen are representatives of their constituents' feelings, Kentucky is at length ripe for harvest. Let the abolitionists of the north rejoice!

There is but one hope for the slave-holder left. It is, either that those who are now clothed with power are ignorant of the real feelings and opinions of the people, or that, knowing them, they regard them not. If the present members of the General Assembly truly represent the popular feeling upon this subject, it is useless for us in Fayette to keep up the hopeless and unprofitable struggle. Kentucky would this day abolish slavery, if a convention were called. Let not the slave-holder repose in the soft delusion that this convention will not be called. There are keen minds and ardent spirits, in and out of the state, who watch with sleepless vigilance these legislative indications.

Is it not better for the slave-holder to risk the convention now? Is it not better that he be freed from suspense? If his property is to be taken from him, is it not better that he should know it, and make his arrangements accordingly? Is it not better that this fierce controversy, in and

out of the legislature, with regard to the moral and political sin of slavery, be brought to an end, either by its final abolition, or by fixing it upon the immovable basis of constitutional law? These are grave questions, and it becomes us to look well to them.—*Danville (Ky.) Rep.*

SIERRA LEONE.

THE Guiana papers contain the address of the emigration agent for this colony to the "free African labourers." We extract the principal part of this document. It seems that the agents for Jamaica and Trinidad have issued addresses also; but we do not find a copy of either in the papers from those colonies.

NOTICE TO EMIGRANTS FOR DEMERARA.

Her gracious Majesty the Queen, having by her principal secretary of state for the colonies of Great Britain authorized the emigration of free African labourers to Demerara, where they will be landed unrestricted, and they are at liberty at once to hire themselves to the highest bidder.

In that "magnificent province" they will receive great wages, and excellent provisions.

Should they not immediately procure other offers, I hereby guarantee them the following rate of wages.

"Tariff of wages"—8½ Spanish dollars per month, with comfortable lodgings, and a sufficient extent of garden ground, medical attendance and medicine.

Tariff of labour for the above wages seven and a half hours per day.

Or, in lieu of the above wages, I will guarantee them at their option,

5½ Spanish dollars per month.

14 Pints of Rice per week.

3½ lbs of salt fish or pork.

A small gratuity of rum, tobacco, and pipes, with a comfortable lodging, and sufficient garden ground, medical attendance, and medicine.

You will clearly understand, free African labourers, that this scale of wages is binding upon me and my constituents, but not on the emigrant f on his arrival at Demerara (British Guiana), he is immediately to be at liberty to dispose of his labour to the highest bidder. They will in fact be transferred to the appropriation and disposal of his Excellency the governor of Demerara.

Liberated African labourers, free settlers and others—I act, and will always act, with rectitude—honestly, and with honesty of purpose towards you. We hold out no delusive hopes, nor expectations, nor offer extravagant wages that cannot be realized. My friends, the respectable and opulent proprietors and other colonists at Demerara would scorn such a mode of proceeding; we offer you high and regular wages, for limited and reasonable hours of labour.

In periods of scarcity of labour you may gain half a Spanish dollar per diem, as stated in the Trinidad address, or three to four shillings by piece work, as offered in the Jamaica address.

I again repeat, you can offer your labour, on landing at Demerara, to the highest bidder perfectly unrestricted; but I guarantee to you the aforesaid scale of wages and provisions, with lodging and garden ground, medical attendance, &c., for your labour of seven and half hours, the time of labour being ten hours in Sierra Leone.

ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS AT DEMERARA.

Yesterday arrived the Superior, a fine barque, from Sierra Leone, bringing 202 Kroomen and freemen. She had a good middle passage, during which not a single death occurred. The immigrants, who are able-bodied people, landed in high glee. About forty are women. They are furnished at the expense of the colony with lodging and every necessary, until they procure suitable employment. At first, probably until they become seasoned to the climate, it will be prudent for them to confine themselves to the lighter descriptions of work. There will be no indenturing of any kind. The people land here at the expense of the colony, and no private individual whatsoever will have a title to deprive them of their chance of the run of the wages market, whatever it may be. The only limit to their acquisition of money will be that which bounds their strength, diligence, or skill.

Under the Immigration Ordinance, 30 dollars a-head is the maximum premium allowable to parties introducing immigrants. Thus the spirited London gentlemen who chartered the Superior are entitled to 6060 dollars out of the public chest. This will be paid out without stint or grumble, if, indeed, it has not been paid already. We understand, however, that the London gentlemen calculated upon £2000 sterling. That the colony will make up the difference we cannot with certainty pronounce, although the energy and judgment of the applicants entitle them to every consideration.

One circumstance is calculated to prove a drawback on the satisfaction natural to the occasion. The colony, in ignorance of the intended voyage of the Superior, chartered at large expense a vessel called the Herald, which, it now turns out, has left Sierra Leone without a single immigrant, her lay-days having expired. There was mismanagement here.—*Guiana Times.*

ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS AT TRINIDAD.—The Barque Elizabeth and Jane, twenty-eight days from Sierra Leone, came into harbour yesterday, with 181 immigrants on board.

The arrival of this vessel was looked forward to with some anxiety; for, although our merchants in England had incurred very considerable expense and responsibility for the purpose of sending out the vessel, her success in the enterprise upon which she was sent was still problematical. She has, however, been successful, not only in obtaining, but bringing over the number above stated, in safety and health.

The Elizabeth and Jane being the first vessel which arrived at Sierra Leone in search of immigrants, some difficulty was experienced in making the people comprehend the nature of the step proposed to them. Some suspicion also, most probably lurked in their minds, that there might be a snare laid for them; but, with the assistance of the public authorities, all difficulties were cleared up, and then came a competition to obtain a passage.

The complement of men for which the vessel was licensed, was not only made up at once, but might have been quadrupled, and there is no question now but that the first wave of *African Emigration to the West Indies* has broken upon the shores of Trinidad. Who shall name the number or size of those which may follow?—*Trinidad Standard.*

THE GLADSTONE SLAVE-TRADE.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Sir,—In March last I addressed you a letter, in which I called public attention to the fact, that John Gladstone, Esq., the father of the member for Newark, and of the late member for Walsall, had sold his celebrated estate, Vreed-en-Hoop, in Demerara, for an enormous sum (£35,000) and the Coolies that were upon it for the additional sum of £2000. I made this statement on the authority of the Hon. H. E. F. Young, the government secretary of British Guiana. I then gave it as my opinion that such sale was illegal; and I ventured to call the attention of the home government to the fact, that it might interpose the authority of the law for their deliverance from bondage. In the papers which have recently been presented to both houses of parliament, by her Majesty's command, the facts of the case are brought to light, and I am happy in being able to state, that both Governor Light, and Lord John Russell, have not allowed the transaction to pass without scrutiny; although I deeply regret to say, their notice of it has been without advantage to the poor Coolies.

In a despatch from Governor Light to Lord John Russell, dated 13th November, 1840, he says, "Plantation Vreed-en-Hoop, belonging to Mr. Gladstone, was sold a short time ago, but the services of the Coolies he had located there, were not included in the sale. Mr. Gladstone has since sold his other estates in this colony, to one of which he has transferred the services of the Coolies. Having reason to believe that it would neither be advantageous to their health or comfort, if this transfer were to be enforced without the consent of the Coolies, I desired the annexed minute to be sent to the crown lawyers, for their consideration and report." The minute embraced two points: whether, if a transfer took place, it must not be to an estate belonging to the importer; and secondly, whether the consent of the Coolies was not indispensable to the legality of their transfer. The crown officers gave it as their opinion, that "the consent of the Coolie is indispensable necessary to his transfer," thus proving that, so far as Mr. Gladstone was concerned, he had forfeited all claim to the services of the Coolies by the sale of Vreed-en-Hoop, and that he had no right whatever to stipulate for their services to any third party. In another despatch, dated the 18th November, 1840, Governor Light says, "This mail has brought out an agreement between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Smith, by which the latter, in the name of his brother, has paid an additional £4000 sterling, for the services of the Coolies at Vreed-en-Hoop to Mr. Gladstone." The attention of Lord John Russell having been thus directed to the subject, we find, in a despatch which he addressed to Governor Light, dated 13th February, 1841, that he had submitted the case to Her Majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, who fully confirmed the opinion of the crown officers of British Guiana, and who stated that "such transactions, certainly, have very much the aspect of a sale of the services of the Coolies, as if they were slaves for a limited time, and must be liable to great abuse." His lordship very significantly added, "I have to observe that such a transaction as the one in question will make her Majesty's government insist more strongly on the maintenance of the order in council, which forbids contracts of service for more than one year."

On receipt of the despatch of Governor Light, Lord John Russell entered into correspondence with Mr. Gladstone on the subject, and elicited the following account of the matter from that worthy personage:—"The Coolies in question were in the spring of 1838 located on Vreed-en-hoop, then my property. In 1839, I transmitted the estate to my sons, with their services, when, with their consent, they remained on the same terms of remuneration. In September last, they sold the estate under the stipulation, that I retained the power to remove these people to two other estates, should I find it necessary to do so, or their desiring it. After the sale I entered into an agreement with the purchaser to transfer the services of the Coolies to him, on condition that they were willing to remain with him for the remaining term of their agreement with me, which will expire in January 1843, two years hence; he engaging to supply them in all respects with food, clothing, lodging, medical attendance, &c., and employ them in the same manner as I had, and paying them the same wages as stipulated for in their agreement with me—with the exception, that I was to remain subject to my engagement, that when their engagements expired, I would provide and send out a suitable vessel, properly fitted, to carry them back to Calcutta, free of all expense of any description—in consideration of £2200 in four instalments, at intervals of six months; but should they prefer being removed, then this agreement is to be cancelled. I think it right to mention," he added, "that since my sons sold the estate in question, I have sold another (Vredestein) on which a part of my Coolies were located, on condition that, provided they remained on the estate, the purchasers were to provide for and pay them in all respects as stipulated in my agreement with them, and relieve me from the expense of sending them back to Calcutta, I remaining bound to the people to do so; in consequence I receive no consideration for their services, should they remain with them."

In this letter, Mr. Gladstone informs us, that he transferred Vreed-en-Hoop to his sons in 1839; from that time, therefore, his interest in the estate ceased, and the sons were the legal proprietors; and from that time the Coolies were legally released from their engagements. Mr. Gladstone had clearly no right to transfer them with the estate to his sons. Yet these sons and Mr. William Ewart Gladstone (who would give the state a conscience) among them, have enjoyed the fruit of their labour up to the period of the sale of the property in September 1840, without compunction. Like father, like sons!

It is curious to observe the phraseology of Mr. Gladstone's letter. He transferred the estate and the services of the Coolies, to his sons in 1839. In 1840, they sell the estate, and he sells the Coolies, or transfers their services for a money consideration, which is the same thing in point of fact; but why this was done does not appear, though it were not difficult to give the reason. He had no legal right to transfer their services to his sons, or to any one else; and when he says they were transferred with the Coolies' own consent, there is not a tittle of evidence adduced to prove it: on the contrary, if we may believe the stipendiary justice, Mr. J. O. L. Mure, they were entirely ignorant that they had been transferred at all. In an address which he delivered to the Coolies on Vreed-en-hoop in explanation of the sale which had taken place, he said, "You know that Vreed-en-hoop has been sold to Dr. Smith and his brother; but, perhaps, you do not know that Mr. Gladstone parted with Vreed-en-hoop twelve months before to his sons."

You have, therefore, for the last year been employed in the service, not of Mr. Gladstone, but of his sons, and without asking your consent. I was not aware of this till lately." This ends the first part of the proceedings.

On the 15th March, 1841, Governor Light again wrote Lord John Russell, about the Coolies, to the following effect, which brings us to the second stage in the proceedings:—"Mr. Gladstone was the possessor of several estates in this province, transferred privately, I understand, some twelve months ago, to his sons, but afterwards sold in his name to individuals here. The first estate sold, named Vreed-en-hoop, had between fifty and sixty Coolies, located on it, who were offered to the purchasers, Mr. Smith, and his brother, the colonial surgeon, on condition of paying £2200 for their services, and £1800 for their keep, with the intimation of an intention on the part of Mr. Gladstone, to offer the Coolies for public competition by sale, if the terms were not agreed to. Dr. Smith, referred to by his brother in England, on examining the condition of the Coolies, did not find them in the effective condition represented; and, moreover, the lawfulness of the transfer, without the consent of the Coolies, being doubtful, he would not confirm the contract. In the meantime, Mr. Gladstone disposed of his remaining estates, and thus virtually broke his contract with the Coolies. It became important to secure them from losing their claim on Mr. Gladstone for passage back to Calcutta, and I directed the crown lawyers to state their opinion. Their view was different from my own. They considered that, Mr. Gladstone having sold his estates, the Coolies were so far relieved from their indentures that they could claim an immediate passage back to Calcutta; but, if they remained in the colony not subject to transfer, their claim to free passage from Mr. Gladstone would be lost. Some weeks passed in communications on the subject, and I made the attorney-general responsible for the final arrangements in the interests of the Coolies."

The negotiation with Mr. Smith for the sale of the Coolies having failed, it appears Mr. Gladstone then transferred them to his old attorney, Mr. Stuart, as the following communication from that person clearly shows. In a letter addressed to Mr. Mure, dated 22nd February, 1841, he says:—"I have to inform you, that I am about to remove the Indian labourers to either Wales or Vredestein, whichever you think most eligible, and I have to request your sanction for their removal, on the 1st of March next, to either of those properties." The magistrate, thus appealed to, sought instructions from the executive, "as Mr. Stuart now seems determined to bring the matter to an issue." The law officers had previously declared that Mr. Gladstone's contract with the Coolies was vitiated by the transfer of Vreed-en-hoop to his sons, "that they might therefore relieve themselves from their engagements," that they were "entitled to demand a free passage back" to India, and that, "in case of refusal on the part of the agent of Mr. Gladstone, they will have recourse upon him by actions at law." This important information, so nearly affecting the rights of the Coolies, was not imparted to them by Mr. Mure, as he had "been instructed to avoid any communication which was likely to cause excitement;" and they were consequently kept in ignorance, till Mr. Stuart "brought matters to an issue."

What instructions Mr. Mure received from Governor Light does not appear; but we find in a communication of his to the executive, dated the 9th March, 1841, that he had addressed the Coolies, and that they were content to remain in the colony until 1843, as the serfs of Mr. Gladstone, to secure their return to India at that period. The means by which they were brought to this conclusion were as follows. After Mr. Mure stated to them that their indentures were vitiated, by the transfer of Vreed-en-hoop to the younger Gladstones; that he was prepared to cancel the indentures of any who wished it, and that then they could demand a free passage back to India; that, if Mr. Gladstone refused to give them such passage, the law officers think you can force him to give the passage by action at law; he added, "these lawyers say, that, if you do not ask to go back soon, you will lose your right to a free passage, except by remaining in the service of Mr. Gladstone." He then observed, "I would not advise any of you to demand a passage just now; for, if Mr. Gladstone refuses you, you can only have recourse by actions at law, and these will be attended with delay, expense, and some uncertainty. I cannot," said he, "undertake to give you a free passage at the public expense, in the event of a recourse to law being unsuccessful." In conclusion, he warned them not to engage as labourers with other persons in the colony, unless they were "determined not to return to India." Whereupon Mr. Stuart, who was present, stated that, "as agent for Mr. Gladstone, he promised a free passage back to India to any who might continue to work for the benefit of Mr. Gladstone till the termination of the indentures, but he would not give a passage to any who might refuse to adhere to their contract, or refuse to go to Wales or Vredestein." Thus the only alternatives left these poor creatures were starvation, or the abandonment of the hope of ever regaining their native land, or submission to the will of Mr. Gladstone. Slaves they were, and slaves they remain.

The correspondence in this latter affair, as well as the former, was submitted by Lord John Russell to Mr. Gladstone, who, in his reply attempted to evade the responsibility connected therewith, on the plea that he was not a party to it; and, reiterating the statement of his former letter, and denying that he intended "to offer the Coolies for sale by public competition," concludes by observing—"the offer I made of the Coolies (to Mr. Smith) did not stipulate that the people were to be in the effective state described by the governor, but stated them simply to be "labourers."

Now, when it is borne in mind that these unfortunate Coolies were entrapped into their engagements with Mr. Gladstone by the agents employed by him in Calcutta; that their indentures covered a period of five years on a very moderate supply of food, &c., with the scanty wages of from three to five rupees per month, subject to deductions for absent and sick days; that the indentures became void, in the first instance, by the frauds practised on the Coolies in Calcutta—secondly by the cruelties practised on them after they reached the colony—and thirdly by the transfer of the estate to which they were attached, to the sons of Mr. Gladstone; I feel surprised that their indentures were not cancelled; and the necessary measures taken by Governor Light to enforce their claim to be sent to their native land. What course the government may have taken I know not, though I hope it will be found that Lord John Russell has done his duty towards these poor and defenceless strangers.

In order to prevent a misconception that the Coolies, on the expiring of their indentures, were to be sent to India free of expense, I beg to state that it was the common practice, on the estates where the Coolies were located, to deduct a proportion of their wages monthly to form a fund for that purpose. The legality of this practice I questioned when I was in the colony, but nothing was done to prevent its continuance.

In conclusion, I beg to state, that the number of Coolies reported to have been shipped at Calcutta for British Guiana, in the early part of the year 1838, was 437, but only 334 were alive on the 1st March 1841, including the children born in the interval! So much for Coolie emigration to British Guiana.

I am, Sir, your's respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 10th July, 1841.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

SLAVERY IN PENANG.

In Penang, or Prince of Wales's Island, there are said to be about 3000 slaves (Pegg's East India Slavery, p. 84); and it is evident, from an inspection of official papers, that an active slave-trade has been carried on for the purpose of recruiting their numbers. To the Rev. Mr. Boucho, Mis. Apos., we are indebted for denouncing this traffic to the government in 1828, when he drew the attention of the resident councillor, Mr. Ibbetson, to the fact, that a Chinese junk, from the west coast of Sumatra, had "imported into the island not less than eighty captives from Pulo Nias," who had been "sold to different Chinese;" and that a few of the young girls had been seen in the houses, "entertained by some Chinese for the purpose of prostitution." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 223). This communication led to the discovery of three other junks, which had arrived between the 1st of May and the 19th of June, 1828, having on board nineteen slaves (*Ibid.* 224), sixteen of whom were recovered after they had been sold (*Ibid.* 225). Orders were given by the government for the prosecution of the offenders. It appears that the original cargoes of these junks consisted of "100 persons, most of whom were afterwards landed and disposed of at different Malayan ports" (*Ibid.* p. 227). The Chinese engaged in the odious traffic belong to Penang, and were consequently British subjects.

On application by the president and resident councillor at Penang to the admiral on the station, to adopt measures "best calculated to put an end to these illegal traffickings," he replied, that he regretted to find that his power was "too circumscribed to be made available in any way that could tend to the attainment of so desirable an object" (*Ibid.* pp. 232, 233).

The result of the trial of the Chinese slave-traders is not given in the official papers.

In 1830, we learn by a minute recorded by the president (Mr. Fullerton) "that the practice of importing slave debtors clandestinely still continues; that persons so imported are procured by Nakodhas of Prahus, and other native vessels from the adjacent islands, mostly from Bali; that they are procured exactly in the same manner as regular slaves, by purchase-money, or goods in barter; that they are frequently the captives taken by pirates;" and "that they are imported, to all intents and purposes, as articles of trade" (*Ibid.* p. 238).

The president finds a "few redeeming qualities," besides the argument which may be drawn from the long-established custom and usage of these countries, in favour of slavery in Penang. He observes, "the slavery or service is entirely domestic, and not partaking of the severe labour exacted from the slaves of our West India colonies." But he adds, "the proportion between the sexes in this settlement, according to the last census was, males _____, females _____, (numbers not given), and the small number of the latter has always been considered one great cause of crime. The emigration of females from China is not allowed; from India it is repugnant to Hindoo ideas; of indigenous Malays the proportion between the sexes is nearly equal. It is only, therefore, from females imported under the present system that the population can arise out of the progressive addition of new settlers; and it will be recollect that the female slaves imported into Penang from Pulo Nias, before the operation of the slave-laws, are the mothers of the whole indigenous population of Prince of Wales' Island. I mention these circumstances," said the president, "as forming part of the subject, but by no means to urge them as arguments in favour of the continuance of a practice in which evil so far predominates; for giving all weight to the above consideration, it must be admitted also that the practice of female slave-dealing is liable to, and often attended with, circumstances of depravity, that far outweigh the advantages on the other side. Setting aside all considerations of local policy, we are, no doubt, bound by every obligation, legal as well as moral, to put down a practice which, however conducted in form, is, in reality, slave-dealing forbidden by law, and the continuance of which must carry with it a continuation of all the horrors induced by it in other places, as exemplified in the case of African slave-dealing, the encouragement to wars for the purpose of making captives for sale, and, in these seas, even the piracies which it encourages, slaves being often the principal object in view. When the habit is inveterate, and in a place like Singapore affording the best market for slaves as well as every other saleable article, the suppression will not be an easy matter, and much evasion, particularly by Chinese, will probably take place, notwithstanding all our endeavours to suppress it." The president then recommends that the practice of slave-trading be forbidden, that the registrar of imports and exports should report suspicious cases; but adds, "When so little actual control is exercised over the trade, there being no custom-house at these ports, I know of no other measures that can be taken to repress the practice" (*Ibid.* p. 239).

In reference to the unfortunate and wretched beings who had been illicitly imported into Penang, Mr. Fullerton observes:—"There cannot be a doubt that all so situated are *ipso facto* free"....."but it must be here considered," he remarks, "that, although many are detained against their consent, and even ill-treated, that many are also satisfied with their situation," and therefore, any direct interposition by the government would be objectionable!" (*Ibid.* p. 239). We quote no farther, but merely observe, that this gentleman urges a variety of arguments in favour of letting matters alone, and concludes his long article with these remarkable words:—"When called upon, we do all that can reasonably be done for the amelioration of the habits of our people, and their gradual advancement in the scale of civilization!" (*Ibid.* p. 239).

Before we close this brief notice of slavery and the slave-trade in Penang and Singapore, we feel it to be our duty to advert to one fact, which illustrates the spirit which too frequently pervades the government of the distant possessions of this country; and how little of warm and hearty co-operation may be expected from the resident functionaries, in correcting the grossest abuses which exist, and in putting down practices which are not less inhuman than they are illegal. It appears that in Malacca there had been established a paper, entitled the *Malacca Observer*, and in Singapore another called the *Singapore Chronicle*. Both of these publications issued from the mission press. The editor of the former felt it to be his duty to animadvert strongly on the existence of slavery in Malacca; this was construed into a great offence by the local government, on the representation of the slave-holders, and he was obliged to discontinue it. The columns of the *Singapore Chronicle* were, however, open to him; and through that medium he continued his attack on the evil, but was not long permitted to do so, for, in a despatch of Mr. Secretary Patullo, Malacca, to the resident councillor at Singapore, the Hon. K. Murchiston, dated 20th of November, 1829, we find, that he was "directed to desire that no observations bearing on the question of local slavery at Malacca, be for the present permitted to appear in the *Singapore Chronicle* (*Ibid.* p. 234). Besides which a communication was made on the same day by the same gentleman to the managing school committee to the following effect:—"The attention of the honourable the Governor in Council has been called to a publication in the *Singapore Chronicle*, signed "The late Editor of the *Malacca Observer*, advertising in a most improper and offensive style on the discussions on the slave question, which have lately created so much interest in this settlement. It is known that the person, signing himself as above, is employed as schoolmaster at Malacca, under your superintendence, and paid by means of the monthly allowance granted by government for schools. I am, therefore, directed to call your particular attention to this point, and to acquaint you, that should any future publication advertising to slavery, and emanating from the same person, appear hereafter, the allowance will be immediately withdrawn by government" (*Ibid.* p. 234). What grounds the governor in council had for complaint against the editor of the *Malacca Observer* in the absence of the articles which appear to have given them so much annoyance, we know not, but had that gentleman charged them with having thrown in the way of Mr. Garling, the resident councillor at Malacca, every obstacle to the accomplishment of his laudable purposes to suppress the slave-trade, and to secure liberty to the slaves illegally held in bondage, he would have only stated the simple truth, and deserved the thanks of every philanthropist (*Ibid.* p. 254).

DEBTOR SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA, ETC.

This form of slavery appears to have existed with various modifications in British India, and in the various settlements possessed by this country in the East, such as Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, &c. In two very interesting papers communicated to the government by Mr. Presgrane, acting resident councillor at Malacca, in 1830, we find that it had long been the custom to introduce into the island slaves under the appellation of "slave debtors." The countries whence the chief supply of these slaves is attained, are "the Batta, the Balli, the interior of Borneo, called Daya Ro, and a few from the island of Nias." The principal importers of this class of persons are "the Chinese from Singapore, where they are obtained from the Malay and Buger Traders, chiefly the latter." "One of the most fertile sources of supply of slaves is undoubtedly piracy; to this end chiefly are those piratical expeditions directed, and the profits arising from the sale of the captives is at once the inducement and main support of these barbarous and destructive undertakings." And thus "all the peculiar hardship and cruelty of the slave trade may be said to be perpetuated by sanctioning the free introduction of slave debtors (actual slaves)."—(Par. Pap. 138, 1832, pp. 304—306).

In Penang some notice was taken of the prevalence and illegality of this abominable species of slave-trading in 1830, and it was believed "that the means adopted will have the effect of at least diminishing the continuation of a practice so dissonant to the principles of British government, and so revolting to the feelings of humanity" (*Ib.* p. 7).

The practice of debtor slavery prevails extensively in the countries and provinces east of Bengal. In the Tenasserim provinces it "prevails universally." It exists in Bengal itself;—"occasionally," says Hamilton, writing of Silhet, "the poorer descriptions of free persons sell themselves when in extreme distress." In Gorakpur, "a native, for a loan of fifty-one rupees, at twelve per cent. interest, comes under an obligation to give his own labour and that of his family to the lender at all times and in all forms, for an indefinite period, until the amount of the loan shall be repaid, principal and interest, in full." The effect of this arrangement is, on the death of the father, to leave his wife and children in bondage. In the Dekhan "debtors have sometimes become slaves to their creditors." In the Madras territory persons in discharge of their debts, bind themselves "to servitude either for life or for a limited period." Such bond service must often practically become perpetual slavery by the inability of the bond servant to discharge the pecuniary obligations which have been incurred. (Adam's Law and Custom, &c., pp. 158—161.) In Assam we find that during a partial famine in 1825, the political agent, Mr. Scott, issued a proclamation "permitting payiks, or persons owing service to the state, to sell themselves as slaves or bondmen, agreeably to the former custom of the country in similar cases." This permission, of which the East India Company did not obtain information until the year 1829, it very properly denounced as a proceeding of "a very questionable character." In the despatch which contained their disapproval of the measure, the directors say, slavery in every form is an evil of great magnitude, and peculiarly revolting to the moral feelings of Englishmen;" a golden sentence, but of no force unless practically applied by them to the extirpation of the evil in all the territories subject to their control. In the case of payiks, they add, "it would appear that temporary relief from the government would have obviated that dreadful necessity of selling themselves as slaves for life, to obtain present subsistence, which seems to have been brought upon the unfortunate people of Assam by distress of a temporary nature." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 2.) In Arracan "there are slave debtors called Ponghrany, or Keeoong-bong, or the pledged, in consideration of money paid," (*Ibid.* p. 47.) The only other reference we find in the printed papers of 1839, to this subject, is

contained in an extract from a judicial letter from Bengal, dated September 19, 1836, as follows:—"The practice of debtor slavery is one which, the commissioner stated, could only be abolished by a change in the moral condition of the people. All, therefore, that could be done on the part of the government would be to discourage, without absolutely prohibiting the custom. To this end it was suggested, that after a certain date, no contract for debtor slavery under any shape, should be deemed valid in the courts; the 1st of July of the current year was the date proposed. In giving public notice of the above measure, Mr. Blundell suggested the expediency of setting forth a short exposition of the objects of government, in desiring to discourage a practice which he describes as degrading and vitiating the people, and as furnishing an additional stimulus to the national passion for gambling." (*Ib. p. 30.*)

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.

(Extract from the Log of her Majesty's Schooner Fawn.)

LAT. 22 30: LONG. 40 WEST.

LIEUT. COMM'R. J. FOOTE, H. M. SCHR. FAWN.

On the 19th of February, 1841, Cacupos, on the Coast of Brazil, about eighteen miles, observed a large brig standing in for the land; altered our course so as to cut her off, if possible, on approaching. She appeared not to have the least idea of our being a man-of-war—allowed her to close within range of our long 32 pounder—fired a gun over her, and another as quick as possible ahead—she then up with her helm, attempted to run, but appeared in great confusion. We continued to throw the shot over, ahead and astern of her, without intention of striking, as we were positive of slaves being on board; after a short time she was increasing her distance; Lieutenant Foote then determined to put a shot into the hull, but with great regret, on account of the unfortunate beings on board. Shots were then thrown close under her stern twice—a third was about to be fired, when we observed her round to. In about twenty minutes we came up, and boarded her. The slaves were all below, with the hatches on: on turning them up, a scene presented itself, enough to sicken the heart even of a Portuguese. The living, the dying, and the dead, huddled together in one mass. Some unfortunates in the most disgusting state of small-pox, in the confluent state, covered from head to foot; some distressingly ill with ophthalmia, a few perfectly blind, others, living skeletons, with difficulty crawled from below, unable to bear the weight of their miserable bodies. Mothers with young infants hanging at their breasts, unable to give them a drop of nourishment. How they had brought them thus far appeared astonishing; all were perfectly naked. Their limbs much excoriated from lying on the hard plank for so long a period. On going below the stench was insupportable. How beings could breath such an atmosphere and live, appeared incredible. Several were under the loose planks, which was called the deck, dying, one dead. We proceeded to Rio Janeiro with the prize. On the passage we lost thirteen, in harbour, twelve from small-pox and debility, a number also died on board the recovery ship, Crescent. After clearing the hold and fumigating the brig, it was determined by Mr. Ouseley, the British minister, to send the brig, with part of her cargo, for adjudication to the nearest colony, under the command of Mr. G. Johnstone, mate of the Fawn. We sailed on the 19th of March, with 180, well provided with medicines, and directions in what manner to use them. Tapioca and lime juice were also provided, notwithstanding all the care that a small crew could bestow on them, we unfortunately lost twenty, chiefly from scurvy and general debility. This unfortunate brig left Bahia forte, on the coast of Benguela, with 510 negroes! and eighteen days after, on her capture, she had but 375!!

We have been supplied with the following additional particulars. Portuguese brig, Dous Fevereiro, burthen 280 tons, Portuguese admeasurement.

Extreme length of deck	-	-	90 feet
" breadth "	-	-	33 feet..
Space allotted to the males below.			
Extreme length 60 feet.	{	60 by 15	= 900 feet.
Mean breadth 15 feet.	{		
Number of males probably placed there on leaving Africa, 250.			
∴ $\frac{900}{250} = 3$ 3-5ths square feet for each.			
The space required for a person to lie at full length is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet = $7\frac{1}{2}$ being about double the space allowed in the brig.			
Height of the male slave-room, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.			
Total number of persons on board on leaving Benguela		510	
Died previous to capture		155	
Died during four days passage to Rio Janeiro,	13	Captured	355
at Ditto	12		
Passage to Berbice	20		
At Berbice, two days after disembarkment	4	45	
Brought from Rio	330		
Number left at Rio (of whom perhaps 30 are since dead)	170		

$135 + 13 + 12 + 20 + 4 = 184$, the number of deaths as yet ascertained, being above 35 per cent. of the original number embarked.

Number of days out when captured	30	Africa to Berbice,
Number thence to Rio Janeiro	4	
Number to Berbice	53	87½ days.

Return of captured Africans at Berbice, 16th May, 1841.					
	Men.	Women.	Lads or Boys.	Girls.	Total.
At Dépôt in Good Health	31	28	41	24	124
In Hospital.	11	6	11	4	32
Deaths since Landing.	2			2	4
Number disembarked on the 11th inst.	44	34	52	30	160

GREEK SLAVE TRADE.

We are much gratified in laying before our readers the following important piece of intelligence, which has just reached this country.

The king of Greece has just promulgated a law forbidding all traffic whatever in slaves among his subjects, to the following purport:

"Whoever is convicted of carrying on such a trade is to be subject to from ten to fifteen years' hard labour, or to inferior punishments, if guilty only of an attempt to infringe the law. Any Greek vessel on which slaves shall have been illegally carried is to be condemned, and the captain and crew sentenced to the punishments mentioned above, according as they may be proved principals or accomplices. The owner of such a vessel is not only to be liable to the extreme penalty above stated, but is also to be declared incapable of commanding a vessel in future. Other minor punishments, varying from three to five years' imprisonment, are to be inflicted on the captains, crews, and owners of vessels, for attempts to carry on the traffic; and offences committed against slaves on board such ships are to be punished according to the established penal code of Greece. All Greek consuls and vice-consuls are authorised to prosecute slaves under this law; and foreign authorities are allowed to set at liberty all slaves found in Greek vessels."

MR. DAY'S WORK ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.—If any profits accrue from the sale of this publication, they will be most cheerfully employed in furtherance of the righteous cause it advocates.

SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.—Some of the West India legislatures have raised the duty on British refined sugar, from 6d. to the prohibitory amount of 1s. per pound, with the view of cherishing the refineries abroad; and others are likely to follow their example. This will put an end to one of the arguments used for the admission of slave-grown sugar into the English market, namely, that, as refined, it was already admitted into the colonies.

BRITISH EMIGRANTS TO JAMAICA.—[Extract of a letter from the rev. W. Knibb.] "The awful waste of human life in the newly invented slave-trade, you will see depicted in the *Herald*. Be assured that you cannot be more appropriately employed, as an Anti-Slavery Society, than in putting a stop to this inhuman traffic." The *Baptist Herald* states the mortality of the recent immigrants from Great Britain at from 50 to 70 in the hundred.

KIDNAPPING IN NEW YORK.—About three months since a coloured child, twelve years old, daughter of Abraham Tanner, then of this city, was carried to New Orleans, and there sold as a slave. By the exertions of some benevolent individuals, the child has been recovered. She arrived in this city a few days since in the ship Orleans, and is about to be restored to her parents.—*American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*.

THE LAND OF LIBERTY.—The slaves belonging to Mr. Marigny, sold yesterday at the Exchange by Mr. Gadriel, brought the following sums:—

Dollars.
Thirty-eight negroes, from eighteen to fifty years, brought
Twenty negro women, from eighteen to forty years, with eighteen children, from six years to one month
Sixteen young negroes, eleven to thirteen years
82,635

The terms were one-tenth cash, and the balance at one and two years.—*New Orleans Bee*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received during the past month.

CALLE.	Donations.		Subscriptions.			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Arnold, Mrs.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Bailey, Joseph	-	-	-	0	5	0
Bailey, John	-	-	-	0	5	0
Bowman, Henry	-	-	-	0	5	0
Brown, Rev. Mr.	-	-	-	0	10	0
Goodall, Rev. William	-	-	-	0	5	0
Gibbons, R. W.	-	-	-	0	10	0
Gundry, J. F.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Gundry, William	-	-	-	1	0	0
Guthrie, Rev. J.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Harris, H.	-	-	-	0	10	0
Jacob, Rev. W. B.	-	-	-	1	0	0
Noyes, John	-	-	-	0	5	0
Ogilvie, G. S.	-	-	-	0	10	0
MONTRÉAL.—Dougall, John	-	-	-	2	11	6
LEWES.—Auxiliary Society	-	-	-	5	0	0
Barrett, Richard, Croydon	-	-	-	5	0	0
Post, Jacob, Islington	-	-	-		2	0
Peek, Richard, Kingsbridge	-	-	-		2	2
Peek, James, Love Lane	-	-	-		1	1
Lushington, Charles, M. P.	-	-	-		1	1
Parby, Major General, 18, Rutland Gate	-	-	-		1	1
Oliver, James, Newington Causeway	-	-	-		1	0
Sterry, Henry, Borough	-	-	-		3	3
Sterry, Joseph, Ditto	-	-	-		2	2
Sterry, Joseph, Jun., Ditto	-	-	-		1	1
Harvey, Robert, Gracechurch Street	-	-	-		1	1
Cooper, Joseph, Stoke Newington	-	-	-		2	2
Metcalfe, Charles James, Jun., Roxton	-	-	-		1	1
Clarkson, Mrs. Mary, Playford	-	-	-		1	1
Knight, Miss C., Winchester	-	-	-		1	0

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